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WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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JANUARY, 1896.

ART. I.—EDGAR A. POE'S ADDENDA TO HIS "EUREKA," WITH COMMENTS.*

THESE extracts relate to, and constitute a part of, a letter written on February 29, 1848, by Edgar A. Poe to a correspondent still living in one of the States of our Union. Since Professor Stringham, of the California State University, has seen fit to publicly comment upon the matter embraced in these extracts, without having given a clear, comprehensive idea of the text of Poe's *Addenda* (refer to Mr. George E. Woodberry's Life of Poe), it seems but fair to all parties concerned, including such portion of the public as may have read the professor's strictures, that the lack be now supplied by a publication of the hitherto unpublished Addenda.

In the letter referred to Poe writes to his correspondent:

"I presume you have seen some newspaper notices of my late lecture upon the Universe. You could have gleaned, however, no idea of what the lecture was, from what the papers said it was. All praised it as far as I have yet seen, and all absurdly misrepresented it. . . . To eke out a chance of your understanding what I really *did* say, I add a loose summary of my propositions and results.

. . . . . .

"By the by, lest you infer that my views, in detail, are the same with those advanced in the *Nebular Hypothesis*, I venture to offer a few addenda, the substance of which was

*Being *Extracts from Siftings*, by Sieve. Copyrighted in 1859, but not hitherto published.

penned, though never printed, several years ago, under the head of

"'A PREDICTION.'

"As soon as the beginning of the next century, it will be entered in the books that the Sun was originally condensed at once (not gradually, according to the supposition of Laplace) to his smallest size; that, thus condensed, he rotated on an axis; that this axis of rotation was not the centre of his figure, so that he not only rotated, but revolved in an elliptical orbit (the rotation and revolution are one, but I separate them for convenience of illustration); that, thus formed, and thus revolving, he was on fire and sent into space his substance in vapor, this vapor reaching farthest on the side of the larger (equatorial) hemisphere, partly on account of the largeness, but principally because the force of the fire was greater here; that, in due time, this vapor, not necessarily carried then to the place now occupied by Neptune, condensed into that planet; that Neptune took, as a matter of course, the same figure which the Sun had, which figure made his rotation a revolution in an elliptical orbit; that, in consequence of such revolution—in consequence of his being *carried backward* at each of the daily revolutions—the velocity of his *annual* revolution is not so great as it would be if it depended solely upon the Sun's velocity of rotation (Kepler's third law); that his figure, by influencing his rotation—the heavier half, as it turns downward toward the Sun, gains an impetus sufficient to carry it past the direct line of attraction, and thus, to *throw outward* the centre of gravity—gave him power to save himself from falling to the Sun; that he received, through a series of ages, the Sun's heat, which penetrated to his centre, causing volcanoes eventually, and thus throwing off vapor, and which evaporated substances upon his surface, till finally his moons and his gaseous ring (if it is true that he has a ring) were produced; that these moons took elliptical forms, rotated and revolved, 'both under one,' were kept in their *monthly* orbits by the centrifugal force acquired in their *daily* orbits, and required a longer time to make their monthly revolutions, than they would have required, if they had had no daily revolutions.

"I have said enough, without referring to the other planets, to give you an inkling of my hypothesis, which is all I intended

to do. I did not design to offer any evidence of its reasonableness; since I have not, in fact, any collected, excepting as it is flitting, in the shape of a shadow, to and fro within my brain.

"You perceive that I hold to the idea that our moon must rotate upon her axis oftener than she revolves round her primary, the same being the case with the moons accompanying Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus.

"Since the penning, a closer analysis of the matter contained has led me to modify somewhat my opinion as to the origin of the satellites—that is, I hold now that these came, not from vapor sent off in volcanic eruptions and by simple diffusion under the solar rays, but from rings of it which were left in the inter-planetary spaces, after the precipitation of the primaries. There is no insuperable obstacle in the way of the conception that meteoric stones and 'shooting stars' have their source in matter which has gone off from volcanoes and by common evaporation; but it is hardly supposable that a sufficient quantity could be produced thus, to make a body so large as, by centrifugal force resulting from rotation, to withstand the absorptive power of its parent's rotation. The event implied may take place not until the planets have become flaming suns—*from an accumulation of their own Sun's caloric, reaching from centre to surface, which shall in the lonesome latter days melt all the 'elements' and dissipate the solid foundations out as a scroll.*

"The sun forms, in rotating, a vortex in the ether surrounding him. The planets have their orbits lying within this vortex at different distances from its centre; so that their liabilities to be absorbed by it are, other things being equal, inversely just according to those distances, since length, not surface, is the measure of the absorptive power along the lines marking the orbits. Each planet overcomes its liability—that is, keeps in its orbit—through a counter-vortex generated by its own rotation. The force of such counter-vortex is measured by multiplying together the producing planet's density and rotary velocity; which velocity depends, not upon the length of the planet's equatorial circumference, but upon the distance through which a given point of the equator is carried during a rotary period.

"Then, *if* Venus and Mercury, for example, have now the same orbits in which they commenced their revolutions—the

orbit of the former 68 million miles, and that of the latter 37 million miles from the centre of the Sun's vortex—; if the diameter of Venus is $2\frac{3}{8}$ times the diameter, and her density is the same with the density of Mercury; and if the rotary velocity of the equator of Venus is 1,000 miles per hour; that of Mercury's equator is 1,900 miles per hour, making the diameter of his *orbit of rotation* 14,500 miles—nearly 5 times that of himself. But I pass this point, without farther examination. Whether there is or is not a difference in the relative conditions of the different planets sufficient to cause such diversity in the extents of their peripheries of rotation as is indicated, still each planet is to be considered to have, other things equal, a vortical resistance bearing the same proportion inversely to that of every other planet which its distance from the centre of the solar vortex bears to the distance of every other from the same; so that, if it be removed inward or outward from its position, it will increase or diminish that resistance accordingly, by adding to or subtracting from its speed of rotation.

"Then, Mercury, at the distance of Venus, would rotate in an orbit only $\frac{37}{68}$ as broad as the one in which he does rotate; so his centrifugal force, in that position, would be only $\frac{37}{68}$ as great as it is in his own position; so his capability, while there, of resisting the *forward pressure* of the Sun's vortex, which prevents him from passing his full (*circle*) distance behind his centre of rotation and thus adds to his velocity in his *annual orbit*, would be but $\frac{37}{68}$ what it is in his own place. But that forward pressure is only $\frac{37}{68}$ as great at the distance of Venus as it is at that of Mercury. Then Mercury, with his own rotary speed in the annual orbit of Venus, would move in this orbit but $\frac{37}{68}$ as fast as Venus moves in it; while Venus, with her rotary speed in Mercury's annual orbit, would move $\frac{68}{37}$ as fast as she moves in her own—that is, $\frac{68}{37}$ of $\frac{68}{37}$ as fast as Mercury would move in the same (annual orbit of Venus); it follows that the square root of $\frac{68}{37}$ is the measure of the velocity of Mercury in his own annual orbit with his own rotary speed, compared with that of Venus in her annual orbit with her own rotary speed—in accordance with fact.

"Such is my explanation of Kepler's first and third laws, which laws *cannot* be explained on the principle of Newton's theory.

"Two planets gathered from portions of the Sun's vapor into one orbit would rotate through the same ellipse with velocities proportional to their densities—that is, the denser planet would rotate the more swiftly; since, in condensing, it would have descended further toward the Sun. For example, suppose the Earth and Jupiter to be the two planets in one orbit. The diameter of the former is (in round numbers) 8,000 miles; period of rotation, 24 hours. The diameter of the latter, 88,000 miles; period, 9½ hours. The ring of vapor out of which the Earth was formed was of a certain (perpendicular) width; that out of which Jupiter was formed was of a certain greater width. In condensing, the springs of ether lying among the particles (these springs having been latent before the condensation began) were let out, the number of them along any given radial line being the number of spaces among all the couples of the particles constituting the line. If the two condensations had gone on in simple diametric proportions, Jupiter would have put forth only 11 times as many springs as the Earth did, and his velocity would have been but 11 times her velocity. But the fact that the falling downward of her particles was completed when they had got so far that 24 hours were required for her equator to make its rotary circuit, while that of his particles continued till but about $\frac{2}{5}$ of her period was occupied by his equator in effecting *its* revolution, shows that his springs were increased above hers in still another ratio of 2½, making, in the case, his velocity and his vortical force (2½×11=) 27 times her velocity and force.

"Then the planets' densities are inversely as their rotary periods, and their rotary velocities and degrees of centrifugal force are, other things being equal, directly as their densities.

"Two planets, revolving in one orbit, in rotating would approach the Sun, therefore enlarge their rotary ellipsis, therefore accelerate their rotary velocities, therefore increase their powers of withstanding the influence of the solar vortex, inversely according to the products of their diameters into their densities—that is, the smaller and less dense planet, having to resist an amount of influence equal to that resisted by the other, would multiply the number of its resisting springs by the ratios of the other's diameter and density to the diameter and density of itself.

Thus the Earth, in Jupiter's orbit, would have to rotate in an ellipse 27 times as broad as herself, in order to make her power correspond with his.

"Then, the breadths, in a perpendicular direction, of the rotary ellipses of the planets in their several orbits are inversely as the products obtained by multiplying together the bodies' densities, diameters, and distances from the centre of the solar vortex. Thus, the product of Jupiter's density, diameter, and distance being ($2\frac{1}{2}$ times 11 times $5\frac{3}{4}$=) 140 times the product of the Earth's density, diameter, and distance, the breadth of the latter's ellipse is about 1,120,000 miles; this, upon the foundation, of course, that Jupiter's ellipse coincides precisely with his own equatorial diameter. It will be observed that that process, in its last analysis, presents the point that rotary speed (hence that vortical force) is in exact inverse proportion to distance. Then, since the movement in orbit is a part of the rotary movement—being the rate at which the *centre of the rotary ellipse* is carried along the line marking the orbit—and since that centre and the planet's centre are not identical, the former being the point around which the latter revolves, causing, by the act, a relative loss of time in the inverse ratio of the square root of distance as I have shown, back; the speed in orbit is inversely according to the square root of distance. Demonstration—The Earth's orbital period contains $365\frac{1}{4}$ of her rotary periods. During these periods, her equator passes through a distance of ($1{,}120{,}000\times\frac{22}{7}\times365\frac{1}{4}$=) about 1,286 million miles; and the centre of her rotary ellipse, through a distance of ($95{,}000{,}000\times2\times\frac{22}{7}$=) about 597 million miles. Jupiter's orbital period has ($365\frac{1}{4}\times2\frac{1}{2}\times12$ years=) about 10,957 of his rotary periods, during which his equator courses ($688{,}000\times\frac{22}{7}\times10{,}957$=) about 3,050 million miles; and the centre of his rotary ellipse, about the same number of miles ($490{,}000{,}000\times2\times\frac{22}{7}$). Dividing this distance by 12 ($\frac{3050000000}{12}$) gives the length of Jupiter's *double* journey during one of the Earth's orbital periods=254 million miles. Relative velocities in ellipse ($\frac{1286}{254}$) 5 plus to 1, which is inversely as the distances; and relative velocities in orbit ($\frac{597}{254}$) 2 plus to 1, inversely as the square roots of the distances.

"The Sun's period of rotation being 25 days, his density is only $\frac{1}{25}$ of that of a planet having a period of 24 hours—that

of Mercury, for instance. Hence Mercury has, for the purpose now in view, virtually, a diameter equal to a little more than $\frac{1}{12}$ of that of the Sun ($\frac{888000}{25}$=35,520; $\frac{355200}{30000}$=11.84; $\frac{888000}{11.84}$)—say, 75,000 miles.

"Here we have a conception of the planet in the *mid-stage*, so to speak, of its condensation—after the breaking up of the vaporous ring which was to produce it, and just at the taking on of the globular form. But before the arrival at this stage, the figure was that of a truck the vertical diameter of which is identifiable in the periphery of the globe ($75{,}000\times\frac{22}{7}$=) 236 thousand miles. Halfway down this diameter the body settled into its (original) orbit—rather, would have settled, had it been the only one, besides its parent, in the Solar System—an orbit distant from the Sun's equator ($\frac{236000}{2}$=) 118,000 miles; and from the centre of the solar vortex (118,000+$\frac{888000}{2}$=) 562 thousand miles. To this are to be added, successively, the lengths of the semidiameters of the truck of Venus, of the Earth, and so on outward.

"Then, the planets' *original* distances—rather, speaking strictly, the widths from the common centre to the outer limits of their rings of vapor—are pointed at. From them, as foundations, the present distances may be deduced. A simple outline of the process to the deduction is this: Neptune took his orbit first; then Uranus took his. The effect of the coming into closer conjunction of the two bodies was such as would be produced by bringing each so much nearer the centre of the solar vortex. Each enlarged its rotary ellipse and increased its rotary velocity in the ratio of the decrease of distance. A secondary result—the *final* consequence—of the enlargement and the increase was the propulsion of each outward, the square root of the relative decrease being the measure of the length through which each was sent. The *primary* result, of course, was the drawing of each inward; and it is fairly presumable that there were oscillations inward and outward, outward and inward, during several successive periods of rotation. It is probable—at any rate, not glaringly improbable—that, in the oscillations across the remnants of the rings of vapor (supposing that these were not *completely* gathered into the composition of the bodies), portions of the vapor were whirled into satellites, which followed in the last passage outward.

"Saturn's ring (I have no allusion to the rings now existing), as well as that of each of the other planets after him, while it was gradually being cast off from the Sun's equator, was carried along in the track of its next predecessor, the distance here being the full quotient (not the square root of the quotient) found in dividing by the breadth to its own periphery that to the periphery of the other. Thus, reckoning for Uranus a breadth of 17 million, and for Saturn one of 14 million, miles, the latter (still in his vaporous state) was conducted outward (through a sort of capillary attraction) $\frac{14}{17}$ as far as the former (after condensation) was driven by means of the vortical influence of Neptune. The new body and the two older bodies *interchanged forces*, and another advance outward (of all three) was made. Combining all of the asteroids into one of the *Nine Great Powers*, there were eight stages of the general movement away from the centre; and, granting that we have, exact, the diameters and the rotary periods (i. e., the densities) of all the participants in the movement, the measurement of each stage, by itself, and of all the stages together, can be calculated exactly."

Having now given Poe's "Addenda" transcribed from the letter referred to, we in turn will venture to do a little proving upon those assumptions-for-criticisms of Professor Stringham, which we cite, substantially in full, as follows:

"Poe's purely scientific speculations are mainly contained in the unpublished 'Addenda' to a report of a lecture on 'The Universe,' sent to a correspondent. . . . They exhibit, once more, Poe's tenacity of mind—the sleuthhound persistence of intellectual pursuit; but, like his metaphysics, they represent a waste of power. They are, moreover, characterized by extraordinary errors. Some of the data are quite imaginative, it being impossible to determine what are the facts. Some of them are quite wrong. The density of Jupiter, for example, in a long and important calculation, is constantly reckoned as two and a half; whereas it is only something more than one fifth; and the densities of the planets are described as being inversely as their rotary periods; whereas in any table of the elements of the solar system some wide departures from this rule are observable.

"Again, it is stated that Kepler's first and third laws 'cannot be explained upon the principle of Newton's theory;' but in fact they follow by mathematical deduction from it. Poe's own explanation of them is merely a play upon figures.

"A striking instance of fundamental ignorance of astronomical science is his statement, at various places, that the planets rotate (on their own axes) in elliptical orbits, and the reference he frequently makes to the *breadth* of their orbits (the *breadth* of their paths through space), agreeably to this supposition. Such a theory is incompatible with the Newtonian law of gravitation, according to which any revolution in an elliptical orbit implies a source of attraction at the focus of the ellipse. . . . To make the proper rotations of the planets themselves take place about a focus, which would be merely a point moving in an elliptical orbit about the sun, would be to give them an arbitrary motion, with no force to produce it."

This complaint from Professor Stringham presents three distinct items, two of which can be met by plain, easy arithmetical ciphering; while the other horn of the dilemma may be knocked off through logical reasoning from presumably approved premises. Before commencing our surgery we will propound two or three direct questions *at* the professor. Is not the "table," to which you call attention, that *old one*, measuring compactness in precise accordance with Newton's rule for fixing gravitating tendency—that is, by finding the ratios of distances from the centers of gravity (the phrase being, here, convertible into centers of density!)? Did not the table record Mercury as the closest-grained; Venus, next; Earth, third; so on, outward? Have not you (judges in the case) already taken wide "departures" with respect to the three planets named? If you have discarded one part of the regulation, what feasible ground have you for holding to any other part?

The undisputed premises of which we spoke are, that the planets were originally diffused particles, and that these began to fall together—in other words, took a step toward a rotary movement. Every particle put forth a spring of velocity. The sum of the springs indicates the number of the pieces deposited within a given compass and the narrowing of the spaces among them. Condensation and speed of descent go abreast. Swift rotation necessarily *means* correspondingly near contact.

As to the mathematical deduction of Kepler's two laws from the Newtonian code, this code declares that gravity is multiplied in exact proportion to the square of decrease in distance; that the same drawing force is (was) the cause of the planetary revolutions about the source of itself. Then by inference which cannot truthfully be gainsaid these revolutions must be hastened in complete union with the application of the enlarged power—that is, orbital velocities *are obliged* to be accelerated *by square;* "whereas" Kepler *demonstrates* that the augmentation is gauged by the *square root.*

As to the breadths of elliptical rotary orbits, let the professor start the earth upon her course about the sun. Her center coincides with a point of the approximately even—*unswitched*—curve of her average orbit. He insists that such position is kept, *always*—that the height from that center to the equatorial periphery of her figure will be forever that from the pivot to the circle of rotation. Well, she advances along the orbit at the rate, say, of 67,000 miles per hour. Take notice that this is the measure of the center's progress. Of course, since the axial turning (also forward) continues, the circumference *has to go* a little faster. Surely the critic will need no farther guidance by us to enable him to *deduce mathematically* (by a "play upon figures"?) the inevitable fact that each rotation will be performed in fewer than twenty-three minutes, hence that there will be more than 23,000 "days" in a single "year" (reckoning radius of orbit 93,000,000 miles).

By consulting some of the recent issues of the London periodical entitled *Nature* Professor Stringham will discover that the selfsame ill-begotten *elliptical monster*, exorcised by him from the "Addenda," has been offered in attempted elucidation of the *lifting of latitude*, discussions of which he no doubt has read. Our closing advice to him is that he construct a machine consisting of an unbalanced wheel upon an axle; that he ascend with it in a balloon; set it revolving, withdraw the axle, letting it down whirling. Will—can—it describe any other than elliptical figures? Furthermore, is it possible for him to even *imagine* (intelligently) the formation of a perfect sphere, such as his plan provides for, out of atoms hanging loose and huddling indiscriminately in space?

Art. II. —AN INSPIRING CHAPTER IN METHODIST HISTORY.

Since the Primitive Methodist Connection, after a very successful existence of eighty-five years, seems likely soon to end its separate career the time is favorable to review its history. Negotiations for a union between it and the Bible Christians have so far progressed that the time cannot be distant when they will fully come together under some such name as the "Presbyterian Methodist Church" or the "Methodist Union Church," both of which have been proposed by the committee. Since the Primitives have, according to the latest returns, 196,324 members (besides some 5,000 probationers), together with 462,856 pupils in Sunday schools, and the Bible Christians have 34,047 members, with 56,222 in the Sunday schools, the combination would give certainly a body with more than 750,000 adherents, if not well toward a million. And this union will be, we trust, but the prelude to that larger amalgamation which shall blend the more than two millions of Wesleyan Methodists and the half million of smaller Methodist bodies into one grand consolidated Church, that will swing clear of all coquetry with the semi-Romanized Anglican Establishment and take its rightful place, in self-respectful dignity and aggressive power, at the head of the truly Protestant forces of the empire.

Exceptions have often been taken by Wesleyan Methodists to the name "Primitive Methodists," adopted by the new organization in 1812, as though it contained an unfair reflection on the older body. But we think history will justify the appellation. John Wesley said at Chester, in April, 1790, after exhorting the preachers to go into the streets and lanes of the city, as well as under the trees and hedges of the country, that all might be brought in, "This is the way the primitive Methodists did." And this was peculiarly and specifically the way adopted by those who followed Messrs. Bourne and Clowes in 1807 and after. Moreover, it was for doing this these leaders were cast out of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection. The camp meeting held on Mow Hill in Cheshire, Sunday, May 31, 1807, was the beginning of the offense; and the refusal of its promoters to cease these irregular operations, by

which great numbers were converted, sealed their fate. They felt that they must listen to what they regarded as the voice of God rather than the voice of man; and they deemed that they were genuine followers of that great innovator and open-air preacher, John Wesley, who was ready at any time to throw routine and regularity to the winds if he might only save more souls. So they went steadily on, perfectly satisfied that the work was of the Lord, and that good but mistaken men would not be permitted to overthrow it. The issue fully justified their opinion.

Great as are the wonders connected with the rise and growth of Wesleyan Methodism in the eighteenth century, they are more than paralleled by the facts brought out in a study of the beginnings of Primitive Methodism in the nineteenth century, which was an equally marvelous revival of true religion. The latter movement, while not headed by men of such ability and distinction as led the former, had nevertheless leaders who were in a very marked degree men of God, and it showed even a more rapid progress. Tyerman * is authority for the statement that at Wesley's twenty-fourth Conference, in 1767, twenty-eight years after Methodism was founded, there were 41 circuits, 104 itinerant preachers, and 25,911 members, being an average gain of less than one thousand members a year. Whereas at the fourth Primitive Methodist Conference, in 1823, thirteen years after the formation of the first class, there were 45 circuits, 202 itinerant preachers, and 29,472 members, being an average annual gain of more than two thousand. Taking a longer period of comparison the result is the same. In 1781, which was forty-two years from 1739, the year in which Mr. Wesley's societies actually begun, the number of members in the Wesleyan Connection was 44,461. The number in the Primitive Methodist Connection after forty-two years, that is, in 1852, the date of the founder's death, was 109,984. In 1799, sixty years after the beginning of Wesleyan Methodism, the number of members in the society was 107,752; in 1867, sixty years from 1807, the earliest beginnings of Primitive Methodism, the numbers in society were 155,247. Of course it may be urged that the population of the country was not so numerous in Wesley's day, that the principles of religious liberty were not so well understood, and that—what

* *Life and Times of John Wesley*, vol. II, p. 609.

perhaps most of all kept down the numbers of his societies—Mr. Wesley was so strongly attached to the Church of England as to very seriously oppose the rise of a new denomination. But, on the other hand, it should also be said that the Primitive Methodist preachers had nowhere such audiences as attended the Wesleys and Whitefield, nor the help which the latter's learning, eloquence, and prestige afforded; nor had they by any means such a free field on which to operate, since they were obliged to follow another body of similar doctrines and principles that had already largely taken possession of the country; yet their members were not drawn from this other body, but from the wholly neglected, unevangelized masses. So, on the whole, the comparison cannot be accounted an unfair one. And it serves at least to awaken a desire to know by what means, under what circumstances, through what instrumentalities, these marvelous successes were achieved. The story is one of stirring incident and thrilling interest.

Messrs. Bourne and Clowes have been mentioned as founders and leaders. They were, indeed, a remarkable couple, neither of whom could well have been spared. It is not possible to enter here into the details of their lives, but a sketch must be given. Hugh Bourne, the chief impelling spirit of the movement, came into the world April 3, 1772, and left it October 11, 1852. He was a poor man, a carpenter, with very few natural advantages of any kind, and not converted till he was twenty-seven. But the sequel showed that he had within him a mind of no ordinary strength, as well as a heart that burned with zeal for the Master. Being led of the Lord, as he firmly believed, to inaugurate in England what had proved so useful in America, open-air, all-day religious services, or camp meetings, he was not one to draw back at opposition; and, although the establishment of a new denomination was at first the farthest possible from his thoughts, as he took step after step under providential guidance, he came at last to see that there was no other way. He was compelled after a little to give up his business, that he might devote his whole time to evangelistic labors and the general superintendency of the rising cause. No toil was too heavy, no service too menial, no journey too long, no expense too great for him, if only the Master's work could be promoted. His journeys were almost always on foot.

It is probable that no man ever walked so many miles in the prosecution of Christian enterprise. He kept this up to the last of his long life, chiefly, it would seem, because he was unwilling to spend money on his own comfort or convenience that might be, as he thought, more advantageously expended on other objects. It was owing mainly to his judicious counsels, his pious example, and his tireless industry that matters moved forward so well. He looked after everything. He was hard at it, early and late, now rectifying abuses, now reclaiming backsliders, now organizing schools or building chapels, now visiting families, now preaching with all his might. He struck out a set of rules for the government of the societies, he established a tract society, he prepared a hymn book, he was connectional editor up to the time of his superannuation, in 1842. His was the master mind appealed to on almost all occasions, his was the guiding hand that rarely failed to find the right channel for the ecclesiastical ship. He had great legislative talents. Without his sagacity, energy, and determination it is scarcely possible that the connection could have conquered its early difficulties. He chiefly constructed its polity, shaped its laws, and enforced the stringent measures that were necessary for the general good. For strong faith and prayerfulness, self-denial and generosity, energy and zeal, he has rarely been surpassed.

William Clowes was born March 12, 1780, and died March 2, 1851, just sixty years after the departure of Wesley. After a wild and reckless youth he was powerfully converted in his twenty-fifth year. He speedily became a tremendous exhorter, heartily united with Bourne in holding camp meetings, and soon developed into the chief preacher of the movement. His exertions were enormous. He was emphatically a shouter, and would labor till his strength failed night after night, after working hard all day from six to six at his temporal calling, which was pottery. When arrangements were made for him to give his whole time to evangelistic effort, extensive revivals followed his work and there were large ingatherings. At the first Conference of the Primitive Methodists, in 1820, the membership was 7,842; at the second it had become 16,394; in 1822 the number was 25,218; in 1823 the membership was 29,472, and at the fifth Conference, in 1824, it was 33,507. This was most amazing growth, a development from about 4,000 in 1819

to over 33,000 in 1824. It was too rapid to be healthy, and the rate could not be continued. But it shows that there had been sweeping revivals, and among those who promoted them Mr. Clowes was foremost. His career as a preacher was brief but brilliant. His labors were exhausting, his economy was rigid, and the strains to which he constantly subjected his physical energies, combined with the excesses of his youth, soon laid him aside in premature decay. He had to be located in 1827, at Hull, where he spent the last twenty-four years of his life. His preaching was original, his power in prayer extraordinary, his heavenly-mindedness most marked. All recognized him as a man of eminent holiness, who lived the Gospel as well as preached it. Bourne was the Wesley, Clowes the Whitefield of the new Methodism, or like Bunting and Newton in later Wesleyan days. Both were great and good; each supplemented the work of the other. One was the organizer, legislator, administrator; the other was the pioneer missionary, the breaker-up of fallow ground. One had the penetration, foresight, tact, and grasp of the commander in chief; the other the heroism, dash, and fire of the general of division or the cavalry commander. Both were actuated by a pure and ardent desire to extend the Redeemer's kingdom.

How were their labors, and those of their coadjutors, received by the British public of that day? In a way that would hardly be credited did not authentic records bear unimpeachable testimony to the facts. They worked mainly among the ignorant, vicious, degraded masses, whose savage brutality found in their unresisting meekness plentiful opportunity to disport itself. The clergymen and magistrates, being as a rule much more scandalized by irregular ways of doing good than by any amount of wickedness, generally took the part of the mobs against the preachers. Indeed, they often set the rabble on, instead of restraining them, giving orders for the bells to be rung, the drums to be beaten, and the fire engines to be played, that the evangelists might be driven out of town and the cause of the devil properly maintained. Dangerous bulls were let loose to break up the congregations. Stones, clods, filth, and rotten eggs were used with the utmost freedom, and sometimes with fatal consequences. Poor men who opened their cottages for religious services often had their windows

and doors torn out, and an appeal to the magistrates not only brought them no redress, but subjected them to greater injuries from those who were encouraged by the attitude of the officials. The preachers were very frequently knocked down, kicked, beaten, and trampled under foot by ruffianly rioters, escaping with their lives as by a miracle. They endured pouring rain and pelting hail, the extremities of winter's cold and summer's heat, sleeping under the open sky when people were afraid to give them shelter, and going for days with scarcely any food, because no one would sell to them. They saw the inside of a great many prisons, but their enemies made nothing by it; for they took joyfully both the spoiling of their goods and the casting out of their names as evil, knowing that they had in heaven a more enduring substance; and, like the apostles, they were glad that they were "counted worthy to suffer dishonor for the Name." Jeremiah Gilbert wrote, "Within the last fifteen months I have been taken before magistrates for preaching the Gospel six or seven times; but I have never lost anything but pride, shame, unbelief, hardness of heart, the fear of man, love of the world, and prejudice of mind. I have always come out of prison more pure than when I went in." Mr. Bunn was committed to Bury jail for ten days on an unfounded charge of obstructing the highway. Even the prisoners were indignant at this shameful defiance of law and justice, one of them remarking to Mr. Bunn, "Sir, they sent you here for trying to do good, and me for doing harm." When George Stansfield was sent to Dover jail for seven days for preaching in the streets the prisoners thought, from his dignified appearance and gentlemanly bearing, that he was come to inspect the prison, and were astonished beyond measure to learn that he was to be confined as a criminal for praying and singing. Another, Mr. S. Waller, sentenced to imprisonment for three months, was taken severely ill, and through the neglect of the prison doctor his life was seriously imperiled. But kind friends bestirred themselves, and he was brought back from death's door. Mr. Isaac Hedges received twenty-one days' imprisonment with hard labor, being charged with blocking up a public foot-path, though he had simply preached to five persons in front of a wheelwright's shop, seventeen feet from the middle of the road. Mr. Thomas Russell, in 1830, for selling a few maga-

zines and hymn books without a hawker's license, was sentenced to three months' hard labor in Abingdon House of Correction. Arriving there, he was stripped before the doctor like a vile criminal, dressed in prison clothes, and placed among the felons. In a short time his health was so greatly impaired that he could not relish the food provided, and his hands bled from the cruel irons. But the unfeeling medical attendant only said, "Here he came to be punished, and here he must be punished." His case was brought before the Religious Protection Society of London, and in a month he was released. When the agent of the society asked him what he wished done about it he replied, "All I wish is to go on preaching unmolested by the magistrate," which was secured to him. Mr. James Bonser was jailed a good many times. When liberty was offered him on condition that he would promise to preach no more in the streets he replied that he would sooner die in prison than make such a promise. Unable to sleep for the cold, having only a few boards and a little straw to lie upon, he walked about and sang the praises of God, like Paul and Silas, declaring to those who tried to stop his noise that, though his body was confined, his tongue was at liberty. Summoned before the bailiffs at the Town Hall, and severely threatened, he defied them, maintaining that he had done no wrong; and, after much consultation together, having totally failed to intimidate him or extract any promises or fines from him, they were obliged to set him at liberty, "finding nothing how they might punish" him. Mr. Joseph Reynolds, after being trampled by a crowd, had his clothing torn and all his money taken from him. In consequence of which he says:

I have been obliged to suffer much hunger. One day I traveled near thirty miles, and had only a penny cake to eat. I preached at night to near two thousand persons. But I was so weak when I had done that I could scarcely stand. I then made a supper of cold cabbage, and slept under a haystack in a field till about four o'clock in the morning. The singing of the birds then awoke me, and I arose and went into the town, and preached at five to many people. I afterward came to Cambridge, where I have been a fortnight, and preached to a great congregation, though almost worn out with fatigue and hunger. To-day I was glad to eat the pea husks as I walked on the road. But I bless God that much good has been done. I believe hundreds will have to bless him in eternity for leading me hither.

These are but a few specimens of hundreds that might be given. Such was the heroic character of the earnest, unlettered men whose deeds fill the earlier annals of the Primitive Methodist Connection, and such were the things they were called to endure. They were plain, humble souls, with little education and no polish, but all the better adapted on this account to reach the classes that most needed them. These classes required the truth of the Gospel to be delivered in strong, blunt language, with homely illustrations, great earnestness of manner, and much depth of feeling. Smooth sentences and fine diction would have been thrown away. Rugged bodies and great powers of endurance, together with fervent souls, were more needed than highly cultivated minds. They were well endowed for the work they had to do. They did it well. In some cases they were protected by the officials; in other cases powerful nonofficial friends were raised up; in all cases they were entirely confident that the Almighty was with them. The Acts of the Apostles find a wonderfully complete parallel in these Methodist chronicles. The ignorant were enlightened, the fallen were uplifted, the lost were saved.

The denomination was introduced into Scotland in 1826, into Canada in 1829, into Ireland and the Channel Islands in 1832, and in various later years into Australia, New Zealand, and Africa, where it has had good success. In England, where the early hardships were so severe, it has experienced large prosperity. Great changes have taken place. Instead of preaching chiefly in the open air or resorting to kitchens and cottages, barns, and factory lofts, there are now nearly forty-six hundred connection chapels, besides twelve hundred and eighty other chapels and rooms. Many of these chapels or churches are spacious and elegant structures. The value of the Church property is more than three and a half million pounds. The congregations have correspondingly improved in intelligence, wealth, and social influence. The salaries and allowances of the preachers are more than double what they were, and their education, if not their abilities, has greatly increased. Elmfield College was established near the city of York in 1863, and Bourne College, Birmingham, was opened in 1876. Both together provide for 240 pupils. There is a ladies' college at Chapham Common, London, and a theological institute at Man-

chester. The Book Establishment at London is flourishing, its profits being nearly £5,000 a year, mainly devoted to the superannuated ministers' fund. There is a general chapel fund, a chapel loan fund, and a chapel aid association, all of which are doing good service in helping to erect new chapels and pay old debts. A Connectional Fire Insurance Company was formed in 1867, with a capital of £20,000. The interest on the investments is more than twice as much as the fire loss in ordinary years, and large grants are made to needy chapels. The Missionary Society celebrated its jubilee in 1893, and a thanksgiving fund of between forty and fifty thousand pounds was then raised, one fourth of it going to the missions.

The doctrines of the Primitive Methodists are precisely the same as those of the Wesleyan Church, and the polity is not widely different. There are twelve legal members of the Conference, instead of one hundred. The preachers are stationed by the District Meetings instead of by the Annual Conference, but there is an appeal to the latter body, which makes any needful alterations. Both the District Meetings and the Conferences are made up in the proportion of two laymen to one traveling preacher. The system of government thus contains a very unusually large admixture of the lay element, and is in most respects substantially Presbyterian.

It has been said that the most striking peculiarities of the connection are: (1) The vast amount of unpaid labor performed by laymen; (2) The influence of the laity in Church government; (3) The devoted and zealous attention paid to the lower classes. Another has mentioned lay agency, female preaching, and open-air work as the three usages to which the present strength and efficiency are due. Still another (Mr. Petty, the chief historian of the Church) says: "The main secrets of the success of the denomination are, under God, its extensive and persevering labors, and its spirit of earnest piety, ardent zeal, and glowing charity." Labors there certainly were of an almost incredible amount. Says Mr. Petty:

> Each traveling preacher is expected to pray with thirty or forty families a week at least, on an average, for the year round; and we have reason to believe, from an extensive examination of official documents for a number of years, that though a few of the preachers have not equaled the amount a greater number have considerably exceeded it, and the majority have not

fallen short of it. Evangelical and pastoral labors so abundant, performed with energy and zeal, and accompanied by the blessing of God, will account in part for the multitude of souls which have been brought to the Lord and united to the denomination.

Mr. William Garner, whose record the historian regards as a fair example of the labors of his brethren in general, in the space of twenty-one years, from 1823 to 1844, traveled on foot, with trifling exceptions, 44,936 miles, and preached 6,278 sermons. These journeys did not include his daily perambulations in the towns and villages where his lot was cast, nor did the sermons include exhortations and addresses. When it is remembered that these journeys were made without reference to the weather, to meet fixed appointments, some under a scorching sun, some through depths of winter snow, some in drenching rains, the amount of toil and endurance indicated will be the better realized. And many of the local preachers, we are assured, were scarcely inferior to the traveling ones in their devotion to the work.

We deem it a most inspiring history. The movement was certainly from on high; not a split or secession from any other body begun in ill-will or springing from disappointed ambition, but an earnest, heaven-born desire to promote by unusual methods the salvation of those masses who were not being reached by ordinary agencies. A similar movement in our own day has taken the form of the Salvation Army, and its spread has doubtless been one of the causes which have somewhat checked, in recent years, the growth of the Primitive Methodists. It may be that, as a separate denomination, they have about run their course and done their work. That course has been most honorable, that work has been most important. Whatever the future has in store for them, the record of their past will long be studied, when men would be thrilled by noble deeds and incited to the largest outlay of all their powers for God.

James Mudge

Art. III.—THE FORCES WHICH DETERMINE CHARACTER.

It is claimed by some so-called "liberal" advocates of Christianity that the time has come to reconstruct its creed on a more rational basis. Thus the Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies says:

> I believe that it will be entirely to the advantage of Christianity that we should dismiss the idea of the "miraculous" from our contentions and our thoughts. The claim made in the name of miracles has had a pestilent effect upon the Christian cause. We are all familiar with the logical argument: our Lord and his apostles wrought miracles; miracles could only be wrought by supernatural power; it is at our peril if we refuse to accept the authority of those who had supernatural power at their back. Such an argument obviously challenges the keenest criticism of the evidence in favor of the alleged miracles—the kind of criticism with which we sift reports of modern miracles, if indeed we think it worth while to criticise them at all. It suggests to us to refuse belief to the Christian creed until we are satisfied that the evidence for the miracles is such as could prove the most improbable things to the most scientifically skeptical mind.

But why do Mr. Davies and others of his school desire the abandonment of miracles as one of the evidences of the truth of Christianity? The reason assigned is that "it is futile to enter into controversy about the Trinity, or miracles, or the efficacy of prayer, or the relation of science to religion, with those to whom there is no Father in heaven, and to whom Christ is a well-meaning enthusiast." Is it true, however, that the dismissal of these purely theological questions from the field of controversy would conciliate the opponents of the supernatural? There remains the vital question as to the forces which determine character. Professor Huxley, the champion of scientific agnosticism, declares that, if the Church would renounce miracles, he would estimate as highly as anyone "the purely spiritual elements of the Christian faith." His admirers refer to him as among "the thousands of men, not the inferiors of Christians in character, capacity, or knowledge of the questions at issue, who will have nothing to do with the Christian Churches on the ground that the evidence in support of the improbable things which the gospels relate appears to them utterly inadequate."

Yet, while the disciples of Professor Huxley profess to estimate highly the "purely spiritual elements of the Christian faith," they reject the claim of any supernatural agency in developing these "elements." The agnostic school admits that the dispositions which minister to the higher life of mankind are peace, joy, patience, hope, love, and reverence—all of which are Christian dispositions and embodied in the life and teachings of Jesus. But how these elements are developed in the human heart and produce the highest type of moral character is the question at issue, involving a controversy as bitter as any waged about miracles. Indeed, the same difficulty concerning supernaturalism presents itself.

Christianity adopts as fundamental the words of Christ addressed to Nicodemus, "Ye must be born again," and holds to the theory of a spiritual birth, which is not in accordance with natural law, but is supernatural, and therefore miraculous. As the agnostic school rejects the reality of Christ's physical miracles, it, of course, rejects his doctrine of the new birth, a moral miracle and the greatest of all. Christianity teaches that those virtues or dispositions which form the best type of moral character are the fruit of a regenerated heart, while the Huxleyan philosophy asserts that they are the fruit of evolution, or result from the operation of purely natural forces. The fundamental proposition of evolution is that "the whole world, living and not living, is the result of the mutual interaction, according to definite laws, of the forces possessed by the molecules of which the primitive nebulosity of the universe is composed." In other words, man is an automaton, and simply acts out of the human nature which comes to him by heredity. What he feels and what he does at any moment are the results of his inherited nature and the external forces influencing him. Everything is determined by that which precedes it, and hence could not be otherwise than it is. Effects in the ethical as well as the material world are the inevitable outcome of their antecedents. Morality is, therefore, the product of the interaction of the primary forces. According to this theory all men, the wisest and the most foolish alike, feel and judge and act as the primary forces intended they should. But Christianity teaches that man, instead of being a machine in God's universe, was created in the divine image, and is, therefore, a free moral being

capable of choice, influenced by motives, and susceptible of regeneration. Surely this exalted estimate of him, even though Christianity deals with him as fallen and in need of moral renovation, is in striking contrast with the view of the fatalistic philosophers who pretend to believe in the perfection of human nature. Nor will the Christian Church abandon the doctrine of the supernatural work of the divine Spirit in human hearts and thus deny the experience of the hundreds of millions of its devotees from the time of Christ to the present. Herbert Spencer asserts that the inherent natural forces will gradually and necessarily improve mankind, and cannot fail to produce a perfect society. He seems to regard the world as a garden to be cultivated and filled with fragrant flowers and luscious fruits, forgetful that weeds will there spring up abundantly and prevent the growth of flowers and fruits. But Christianity goes to the foundation and pulls up the evil by the roots. It recognizes the fact, taught by Christ and confirmed by human experience, that sin has introduced into the soul degrading forces which tend to individual and social ruin.

The Christian religion, considered only as a system of ethics entirely divorced from the supernatural, is superior to the agnostic philosophy because it enthrones conscience and makes a distinction between right and wrong. Mr. W. S. Tilly, while anxious to win to Christianity the so-called "determinists," does not indorse their ethical system. He says:

> The old conception of conscience as the formal principle of ethics, the internal witness of the supreme Judge, "a prophet in its informations, a monarch in its peremptoriness, a priest in its blessings and anathemas," is put aside as outworn rhetoric. The moral sense, we are assured, is not primitive, is not innate, but a mere empirical fact transformed and established by heredity; a "phenomenon" (so they call it), variable and varying with the exigencies of the race. General utility, the good of the species, is then the only scientific and experimental criterion of human action, the sole rule of right and wrong; and morality consists in the apprehension of that principle and in conformity with it. And so John Morley, in his book on *Compromise*, dogmatically affirms that "moral principles, when they are true, are only registered generalizations from experience." Human society, in the view of this sage, is not an organism, but a machine; just as the individual men of whom it is composed are machines, a kind of company, as some one has happily expressed it, which insures against risks by applying the principles of solidarity and reciprocity, the taxes being the premium. And, as right springs

from the fact of living together, so duty springs from the necessity of living together. This agrees with Bentham's doctrine that what we call crime is really a miscalculation, an error in arithmetic.

How can men become better in heart and life, thereby promoting their own welfare and that of society, unless there be a higher standard than mere utility? It is not true that they can be induced to forsake evil and practice virtue because they believe that the latter course is the more profitable. A genuine reform in character results from a sense of duty to love and obey God as he is revealed in conscience and nature, agnosticism not conceding that he speaks in any verbal or written message. In proportion that man's responsibility is recognized to conscience as the tribunal which decides the quality of human conduct, in that proportion society will be elevated. But the school of "determinism," which treats ethics as a branch of physics, entirely ignores duty and responsibility as applicable to man. The only duty imposed on him by society is to avoid that which is detrimental to the general welfare. Beyond this he has no responsibility. Mr. Cotter Morison, an advocate of this theory, while repudiating moral responsibility as unscientific and absurd, virtually admits that human nature is capable of being modified by training for better or for worse. He says: "The sooner it is perceived that bad men will be bad, do what we will, though of course they may be made less bad, the sooner shall we come to the conclusion that the welfare of society demands the suppression or elimination of bad men and the careful cultivation of the good only." This concession that men "may be made less bad" is a recognition of the Christian doctrine that they can attain a higher type of character by the operation of spiritual forces. Of course, if bad men may be better, they must be free to choose; but how can they do so if, according to "determinism," "positivism," or "naturalism," they are automatic machines and products of a necessary evolution? Mr. Morison's plan for the purification of society is unique, if not humane. He says: "Society has the right to suppress the bad man in some effectual way, and, above all, prevent his leaving a posterity as wicked as himself." And again, "The soldier who deserts in presence of the enemy is deservedly shot. In civil life there are forms of criminality which are

worse than desertions; they are open hostilities to the best interests of humanity." Mr. Morison is not guilty of scientific consistency in his proposed method of exterminating the criminal classes, or even bad men not on the criminal list. If they are machines, and morality is the product of molecular forces, bad men are not to blame for their inherited natures. Herbert Spencer, however, does not favor the "suppression or elimination of bad men," but prefers to deal otherwise with the criminal classes and trust to penal reform as more in harmony with an enlightened and humane age. He expects the world to become better and happier by social evolution, the good finally predominating, on the principle of "the survival of the fittest."

How much more rational and humane is the Christian method of removing the evils of individual and social life! Christ sympathizes with man and appeals to his better nature, not regarding him as a machine, incapable of choosing between right and wrong, but as a free moral agent, possessed of a conscience and convinced of his responsibility. This estimate of even "bad men" invests them with a dignity which the agnostic philosophy does not recognize. Mr. Morison candidly admits that modern society is threatened with ruin, but his remedies are inadequate. Crime is rampant and defiant, corruption in public office abounds, and unrest in labor circles is unprecedented. What is needed is that there be preached with greater emphasis the teachings of Christ concerning love to one's neighbor, which implies love to God. The practice of the "golden rule" requires that best type of character which is the product of the "purely spiritual elements of the Christian faith," so highly praised by Professor Huxley.

The great defect in all existing systems of reform is the tendency to overlook, or minify, the heinousness of sin and to silence the voice of conscience. Even the pulpit is exalting the religion of culture, and is ignoring the absolute necessity of the "new birth." In seeking to eliminate the miraculous element from the Gospel some so-called reformers in the Christian Church are practically abandoning the doctrine of the supernatural work of the Spirit in human hearts. Mr. Davies —who, in his able paper on "The Higher Life—How is It to be Sustained?" makes such an eloquent plea for Christianity

and exposes the errors of agnosticism—shows commendable zeal in his efforts to popularize the Christian faith, but thus far the conversion of agnostics and materialists to his reconstructed system has not been encouraging. Evidently he is a believer in the divine Christ, though he would not urge men to accept Jesus because of his mighty works as recorded in the gospels. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, in referring to this Gospel, he says:

> By presenting the Son of man as divine it makes every man sacred and dear to his fellow-men. It gives an entirely satisfying law of life, a sure basis of duty, a universal and progressive morality. It so far explains the sufferings and trials of life as to induce them to bear them with a refining patience. It holds out a light from beyond the grave which dispels the gloom of death. It opens a fount of joy too deep to be exhausted.

Surely a Gospel which has offered such possibilities to men in all lands and ages is a more exalted system than the mere vaporings of shallow philosophers. It is a provision for world-wide need; it is of supernatural origin.

H. H. Fairall

Art. IV.—DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE IMMANENCE.

The last word will never be spoken respecting the relation of God to his universe. Whoever thinks and writes on this great theme must do so with the understanding that he will not fathom the whole truth. It has been the problem of thoughtful minds in all ages, and many have derived from it a maximum of mental training who have reached only a minimum of truth. The problems involved cannot be settled by any preeminence of intellectual ability, or by a consensus of philosophical opinion, for the greatest minds of the race have neutralized their influence by discrediting each others' theories. It is not a question that can be decided by expert testimony. We may well distrust anyone who sets himself up as a final authority on account of any preeminence of philosophical grasp. Yet, whatever the difficulties which beset this problem, thoughtful men cannot and ought not to ignore it. They must think and study, and perchance God will give them a measure of truth.

In these times of unfettered speculation the ocean is traversed by numberless currents and cross-currents, while the air is boisterous with gales and cyclones. It may be well to see whether the Christian doctrine of God's immanence in nature maintains its anchorage or whether in this respect we are drifting with wind and tide. A belief in this immanence assumes that God created all things, and concerns itself with his relation to the universe after creation. Was he so closely related to his universe as to lose his identity in it? Did he create a vast machine which could run without his further care? Or, did he construct a universe distinct from its Creator and yet needing his constant guidance and control? Christian thinkers have generally given an affirmative answer to the last question.

We may look to John Wesley for a brief statement of the doctrine of God's immanence in nature:

> He is the true God, the only cause, the sole creator of all things. . . . And as the true God he is also the supporter of all the things that he hath made. He beareth, upholdeth, sustaineth all created things by the word of his power; by the same powerful word which brought them out of nothing. As this was absolutely necessary for the beginning of their existence, it is equally so for the continuance of it; were his almighty influence withdrawn they could not subsist a moment longer. Hold up a

stone in the air; the moment you withdraw your hand it naturally falls to the ground. In like manner, were he to withdraw his hand for a moment, the creation would fall into nothing. As the true God he is likewise the preserver of all things. He not only keeps them in being, but preserves them in that degree of well-being which is suitable to their several natures. He preserves them in their several relations, connections, and dependencies, so as to compose one system of beings, to form one entire universe, according to the counsel of his will. How strongly and beautifully is this expressed: Τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν, "By whom all things consist," or, more literally, "By and in him are all things compacted into one system." He is not only the support, but also the cement of the whole universe. I would particularly remark (what perhaps has not been sufficiently observed) that he is the true author of all the motion that is in the universe. To spirits, indeed, he has given a small degree of self-moving power, but not to matter. All matter, of whatever kind it be, is absolutely and totally inert.*

This statement covers the ground of God's relation to material things. Mr. Wesley implies, but does not directly state, that the same relation exists between the Creator and created spirits. "He is also the supporter of all things that he hath made," whether in the realm of matter or spirit. He grants to created spirits a certain measure of freedom, but not such as to make them independent of the Creator. God is so necessary to the existence of the universe that were he to withdraw himself for an instant it would vanish into nothingness.

The doctrine of the divine immanence mediates between the extreme, on the one side, of an absolute transcendence which represents God as holding aloof from the universe, and the extreme of pantheism, on the other side, which degrades God to a level with the universe and loses him in it. We must not permit the true doctrine to be cumbered with objectionable notions, but must guard it from all misleading bypaths. In order to fortify ourselves in this belief let us look at a few considerations:

1. First, this doctrine is not inconsistent with a true view of transcendence. In fact, any correct view of transcendence must find its proper modification and complement in immanence. It goes without saying that God is above his creation. He does not bring himself to the level of nature by creation and preservation. A philosopher who has invented a rat-trap to protect himself from vermin does not bring himself to the level of this simple contrivance because he baits and sets the trap. A

* Sermon of "Spiritual Worship."

man is above any machine which he is capable of inventing, building, and running.

But we cannot hold to any view of transcendence which represents God as turning away from his universe, and leaving it to run itself. The mechanical theory of God's relation to nature has value for neither philosophy nor religion. If we draw our illustration from the most perfect man-made machine, and press the analogy, it will utterly fail us. A machine cannot run itself. It depends on both God and man for conservation and preservation from destruction. It must be attached to some force of nature in order to run at all, and in order that its materials may hold together. And in attaching it to nature we attach it to God, who is behind and above nature and responsible for it. But in addition to this a man must stand over it and keep it in order. If left to itself it will finish a brief task and cease to run. An engineer starts a train and jumps off; it runs wild for a few hours, stopping at no stations, and probably ends in a smash-up. At best the fires will soon be out and everything come to a standstill. An immense knitting mill, run by water power, is set in motion; the doors are locked and it is left to itself. It is safe to say that in a few weeks, at most, the whole machinery will be a tangled wreck which has come to silence and will never sing again the song of useful industry unless the hand of man is invoked to put it in order. No theory of transcendence is rational which represents God as creating the universe and then leaving it to take care of itself while he looks on, or looks off, with indifference. The mechanical theory of the deists is no solution of the problem of God and the universe. The correct view of transcendence is that which joins with immanence and presents us an infinite, personal God, omniscient, omnipotent, speaking into existence a varied universe and then with fatherly care looking after its interests. The mere fact that we pronounce him infinite and the creation finite declares his transcendence. The Christian doctrine, which represents God as a father stooping from infinitude to superintend the destiny of a planet, a sparrow, a man, is the best exposition of the divine immanence. The two doctrines present a rational and beautiful conception of God, and we may humbly believe that the Creator has taken pains to thus reveal himself to men.

2. On the other hand, and from the opposite pole of thought, the doctrine of the divine immanence must not be confounded with any form of pantheism. Some Christian thinkers lean toward the absolute transcendence of the deists, for fear that some elements of pantheism are wrapped up in the doctrine of the divine immanence. Many persons see pantheism when it does not exist. It is not necessary to accept the mechanical theory in order to escape pantheism. We need not exclude God from the universe in our endeavors to save his identity from being swallowed up by it. God can keep his hand on nature without losing himself in nature.

Pantheism is a diversified system of speculation, and it would be well if earmarks were attached to its various phases, so that it could be easily recognized. A satisfactory definition of pantheism it is difficult to find. Webster gives this: "The doctrine that the universe, taken or conceived of as a whole, is God; the doctrine that there is no God but the combined forces and laws which are manifested in the existing universe." While this definition will not be accepted as adequate by many who incline to pantheistic views, it may serve as a starting point.

Dr. McCosh* gives some of the leading phases of pantheism, although he does not claim to follow it into all its "shapes" —"if shape it can be said to have whose very nature is to be shapeless." His first division is "Material Pantheism." Of this theory he says: "According to this it is the mere matter of the universe, with its forces, its life, its thought, as the result of organism, which constitutes the One All, that may be called God." This is simply materialism, which finds whatever God there is in the material universe. There is no personality, of course, in such a God. Dr. McCosh's next division is "Organic or Vital Pantheism." God is the life of the universe. He is the life of the animal, the plant, the man. There is no personality here, but God is simply a life principle animating all things. His next division is "One Substance Pantheism." This is the system of Spinoza, the great apostle of modern pantheism. According to his philosophy God is the only substance, and this substance has two attributes, thought and extension, which correspond to spirit and matter. The God of Spinoza is not a personal being. He is simply the sum of all

* *Intuitions of the Mind*, p. 399.

things under the phases of thought and extension. It is a misnomer to speak of such a conception as God. Dr. McCosh's last classification is "Ideal Pantheism." This is the opposite pole from materialism, but each is alike frigid, for there is no place in either for a personal God. The material universe is lost in God, and God himself is lost in a system of ideas.

Thus do pantheistic theories sway from the extreme of materialism to the opposite extreme of idealism. Materialistic pantheism makes the "all" of the universe to consist of matter, while idealistic pantheism approaches the problem from the opposite side and construes everything as spirit. But both are alike atheistic, for, in the end, after bewildering speculations, the existence of a personal God is denied. Between these extremes there is room for many phases of pantheistic thought, but in them all the idea of a personal God is buried under the mass of the universe; and an impersonal God is a figment of the philosophical imagination. The God of pantheism, in every phase, is but a myth of philosophical speculation.

Let us now try to state, in a few words, the difference between the immanence of God in nature and pantheism. The doctrine of the divine immanence recognizes a *personal* infinite God. He is distinct from all things; is in no way tangled up with, or lost in, his creation. He stands in his personality above creation, over against nature and separate from it, yet upholding it and controlling it by his wisdom and power. But pantheism recognizes an *impersonal* absolute God. He does not create; he simply exhibits himself in various modes and phases in the universe. He is not distinct from the universe, but confused and confounded with it. The difference is simply immense between an unconscious absolute, evolving itself into the various forms of nature, and a personal God creating the universe and making it so dependent on himself that it must be constantly upheld by his power. It ought not to be difficult for Christian thought to draw a boundary line between two systems so radically unlike. No man need hesitate—through fear that such a doctrine has any fellowship with pantheism or is liable to lead to it—cordially to embrace the belief that God, while above nature, is in nature, upholding and keeping it in existence by his almighty power. Wherever there is a clear recognition of a personal God, of a creation entirely distinct from

the Creator, and of an active superintendence of nature, there is no pantheism.

3. We may comfort ourselves still further with the thought that the doctrine of the divine immanence is the most reasonable and sensible account that has been given of the relation of God to the universe. Why may not the theories of philosophy be subjected to the test of hard sense as well as other theories? Who will venture to say that a philosopher, bewildering himself with speculation and reaching the conclusion that the whole universe is a delusion, is any better guide than the plain man with common sense who knows no better than to take things as he finds them? Who shall say that the logical faculty, locating its premises in the dark, and relentlessly pursuing its speculations to absurdity and chaos, affords a surer path to truth than the good sense of the mass of mankind? Starting from different premises, this method has led myriads of speculators to contradict each other, and has yielded a plentiful harvest of philosophical confusion and bewilderment, while the good sense of mankind has practically agreed that there is a personal God, and a created universe distinct from God, yet under his superintendence and care. Says Professor Bowne:

> Life abounds in practical certainties for which no very cogent reasons can be given, but which are nevertheless the foundation of daily life. Our practical trust in the uniformity of nature, in one another, in the affection of friends, in the senses, etc., are examples. Numberless logical objections could be raised which reduce all of these to matters of probability; but none of these things move us. The things which we hold, or rather which hold us, with deepest conviction are not the certainties of logic, but of life.*

It may be profitable to place the doctrine of the divine immanence by the side of other theories, which have been claimed to solve the same great problem, and let the good sense of mankind judge between them. Is the doctrine not more rational than the mechanical theory, which represents God as creating the universe with such powers that it can run itself and then turning his back upon it? This theory is liable to the suspicion of trying to eliminate God from the universe. If there is such a personal God as we believe in, who is the Creator of all things, the only rational thought for us is that he is still

* *Philosophy of Theism*, p. 32.

interested in his creation and is looking after its welfare. When we think of a machine in operation the master's hand and eye are always upon it. Or is the doctrine of the divine immanence not more rational than the pantheism of Spinoza? According to this philosophy God is simply substance, and the only substance—not a person. The material universe and individual beings have no real existence. All that exists is infinite substance, if anyone can conceive what is meant by such a term. Under this theory there is no relation of God to the universe to be explained; and, as we have no real existence, we need not, cannot trouble ourselves with either God or the universe. Does any Christian wish to exchange the doctrine of the divine immanence for the specter of Spinozism? Or shall we prefer the "emanation theory," which pervades all oriental philosophy and represents creation as but an outburst of the substance of Deity, like a jet of gas from the sun, or a mass of matter thrown from a volcano, which after a little time drops back again to the original substance? Shall we conceive of God as projecting parts of himself in various directions, for his own amusement, and then recovering himself at his pleasure? And shall we conceive of ourselves as jets of Deity, thrown out for a little but doomed to be absorbed again in the original infinite substance? Or shall we prefer the subjective idealism of Fichte, which makes the ego the only reality, and construes all else as a product of the imagination? Do we in fancy create our own God and construct the universe to our own liking? Do the trees by the roadside grow in our imaginations and not in the solid ground? Are we the creator, rather than God? Is there no God, no universe, whose relations need explaining? Such is one of the results of philosophical speculation. Are we ready to accept it and lay aside the rational doctrine of Christian theism? Does any form of materialism seem more reasonable than the Christian doctrine of the divine immanence? Are we ready to believe that all the powers of the universe are wrapped up in matter? Or is the theory of blind force back of matter and operating through matter more rational than that of a personal God superintending the universe which he has created? Or will we believe that there is an "unconscious intelligence" at work between God and the universe, as an explanation of their relations? A man has a right to accept such a theory if

he chooses, but the rest of the world has also a right to ask what possible conception is awakened in the human mind by the term "unconscious intelligence." Are we ready to drop our theism and accept the notion that the "all" of the universe, by a process of evolution, reaches consciousness only in man, and that consequently the universe finds its acme in the human race? Or, with more daring fancy, will we place God at the end rather than the beginning of the series, and consider him the last and highest product of evolution? Will we attribute to the "universal substance" "intelligence and self-existence" without personality? Will we base our philosophy and our religion on a hobgoblin which is impersonal yet intelligent and self-existent? Will it please us better to think that there are no individuals in the universe, but rather an aggregate of life which transiently manifests itself in separate forms? Will it clear our thought to any extent to be told that we are "identical with the absolute," or that we are equal with God? Shall we solve all the problems of the universe by elevating man to God's place and worshiping ourselves or our fellow-men? Or will it dispel the fogs from philosophical speculation to wipe out the universe with one courageous stroke and declare that God, man, matter have no real existence?

Is there anything, in any or all of these theories, to drag the Christian thinker from his moorings? He has a right to scoff at such vapory speculations. In place of all this the common sense of mankind has believed in a personal God, who created the universe, and whose omnipotence keeps it in being. The Christian philosopher may confidently claim that this is the most rational account of God and the universe.

4. Such a discussion as this ought not to terminate without the fact being emphasized that the doctrine of the immanence of God in nature is in harmony with the teachings of God's word. We do not regard Scripture as a handbook of philosophy, but it will never be safe to leave the teachings of the Bible out of the account when making up our conclusions on any subject. Such a course will only invite revision at a later date. Doubtless every theory of science and philosophy will ultimately have to make its peace with the word of God, and so the Bible must be a factor in the discussion of all questions.

An exhaustive argument would make use of a large part of

the Bible, for its pages are filled with this doctrine. Nothing in Scripture is more frequently or emphatically affirmed than God's creative power and his perpetual superintendence in the affairs of the universe. Material things are molded by his hand as clay takes form under the skill of the potter. Animals are fed and cared for by his bounty. Men cannot escape from his presence. Heaven, earth, and hell afford no hiding place from his all-seeing eye. A few passages will show the trend of Scripture teaching. Look at this sublime utterance: "And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest: and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail" (Heb. i, 10–12). This cannot be construed as merely the poetry of the Old Testament, though it be a quotation from the Psalms, for it finds a place and an indorsement in the New Testament, where its sentiments are repeatedly found, as in Matt. xxiv, 35; 2 Peter iii, 7–10. Here we have clearly taught the great principles of Christian theism—a personal God, a creation, a clear distinction between Creator and creation, and the added thought that the continuance of the one is not dependent on the continuance of the other. There is no pantheism here. A decaying world is not a decaying God. It looks as though God might suffer the world to go to destruction without any harm to himself.

One passage more. Paul was himself a philosopher, and looked into many "things hard to be understood." He did not blink the "mysteries" of life in presenting the Gospel to men; and from his peculiar relation to God, and his superior mental equipment, we might look for a satisfactory solution of the most profound problems. He at one time had a discussion with certain Greek philosophers on Mars' Hill concerning the very question before us, and announced his theory of God and the universe in no dubious terms. Certain of the Epicureans and Stoics took the apostle to the place where the gravest questions were debated, and gave him an opportunity to explain some of the fundamental principles of the Gospel. The Epicureans were materialists. Matter unfolded itself into its various forms without any creating power. Human souls were only a refined

form of matter. There were gods, to be sure, but they had a good time in the interstellar spaces without any concern for the affairs of the universe. The Stoics were pantheists. With them God and the universe were identical. The universe was but "a period in the development of God" himself. In the face of their theories Paul thrust the wholesome doctrine of Christian theism, declaring a Creator, a created universe, an upholder of all things, a nourisher of nature, and a Father of men: "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshiped with men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: for in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring" (Acts xvii, 22–28). Many truths are established in these passages, and they are the very truths that lie in the safe middle ground between pantheism and an extreme view of the divine transcendence. They touch the relations of matter and spirit to the God who created and upholds both.

Such is the teaching of Scripture on this important question, and the Christian may be thankful that the doctrine of the immanence of God in nature, which lays the foundation for the kindred doctrines of divine providence and the fatherhood of God, is both rational and scriptural.

Henry Graham

Art. V.—DOCTRINE OF THE FUTURE LIFE IN THE BOOK OF JOB.

Belief in God and belief in a future life are the two limbs on which the colossus of religion stands as it strides the mystery of life. These fundamental beliefs seem eternally to join hands, so that a great theologian has remarked, "Theism in all its forms can as little dispense with the immortality of man as with the personality of God." As a deduction from this we would suppose that the philosophy or religion which sees God in clearest light would present the richest, deepest, most adequate doctrine of the future. And as a rule this is true. The philosophy of the eighteenth century, which was preeminently theistic, made the doctrine of the immortality of man, as Erdmann expresses it, "the dogma *par excellence*." But Hegel, whose idea of God is far more misty, speaks rarely and cautiously on the subject; and Comte, whose one absolute certainty is the nonexistence of the absolute, teaches everlasting annihilation rather than everlasting life. In religion, also, we see that the form under which God is conceived determines the specific form of the belief in immortality which is held. Brahmanism, with its pantheistic tendencies, naturally gives rise to a theory of human transmigration, while Zoroastrianism, because it adheres to the idea of a supreme will, emphasizes the doctrine of personal continuance.

In harmony with the general principle just stated we would expect to find in the Book of Job a very clear and adequate revelation of man's immortality; for, if anything is characteristic of this composition, which Carlyle called the "oldest choral melody as of the heart of mankind," it is the splendor of its theism. The consciousness of a personal God is the fundamental *differentia* of Hebrew thought, and nowhere is it displayed more brilliantly than in Job. Even in the most skeptical and despairing passages, where everything rocks and sways, the belief in a personal God is as stable as the position of Gibraltar by the sea. Says Zöckler: "Our best modern theology, in its most approved and philosophical symbols, may be challenged to produce anything surpassing the representations which this ancient writing gives us of God, as a spirit, eternal and unchangeable in his

being, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth." The book is also given up to the discussion of a question whose enigmas only a true doctrine of the future life can illumine. The writer is a Hercules wrestling with that profound problem which has been handed down the ages, and which has been the ever-recurring specter at the banquet of human thought, "Why do afflictions befall the righteous?" What Job needs, to reconcile him to his fate and to snatch the veil of mystery from the face of the Sphinx, is, above all else, an adequate doctrine of the future; and hence, if anywhere, we have a right to expect that in this book the Hebrew belief will be set forth in a light both full and clear.

Whether this is the case or not is a question on which critical students have widely differed. On the one hand, we have those who, with Dewey, tell us that the writer of this book knew no more of the doctrine of immortality than the Philistines knew of the secret of Samson's strength. Says a somewhat recent review writer: "There is absolutely no knowledge of a future life in the Book of Job." On the other hand, we have writers, like Michaelis and Ewald, who claim that the aim of the book is to teach the immortality of the soul, and by the hope of a future state to reconcile man to the inequalities of the present.

That the author of this "divine drama of the ancient Hebrews" was not as ignorant of the theory of a future life, as the more negative writers affirm, we think can be easily shown from various arguments. (1.) The philosophical presupposition is against it. All peoples, as Cicero so long ago affirmed, seem to have a belief in the continuance of man beyond the grave. Indeed, this belief is not a dogma of religion, or a dogma of philosophy, but is an impulse of man's nature to be reckoned among the primary and necessary religious truths. Says Principal Fairbairn: "To the instinct of a living man, who has not yet learned to reason either from the facts of experience or the data of consciousness, death cannot suggest annihilation, because annihilation is a thought too abstract and repugnant to these instincts to be either intelligible or credible. In such a man faith is stronger than sight; he can conceive and understand life, but not its negation. If he thinks of the dead he thinks of them as living; the very attempt to represent them in thought is an attempt to represent living, not dead, men."

Now, Job, as a sincere religionist speaking out of his deepest consciousness and strongest feelings, and his friends, who stand like flint for the traditional beliefs, could not have been devoid of a belief in the soul's future existence, although they may not have developed it to more than a shadowy copy of present conditions. (2.) Again, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, Job's people certainly held to such a belief. They had every opportunity to embrace the doctrine, for Abraham came from Chaldea, where a very emphatic belief in the future life existed, as the lamps and remains of food found in their tombs testify. Doubtless the patriarch, before his call, had often united with his ancestors in praying that they might live forever "in the land of the silver sky," while in Egypt, also, the Hebrews must have been impressed with the great truth of future existence; for here the idea passed into the life and ethics of the nation, and was living and palpable. In the fact that the superstition of necromancy, notwithstanding a divine command against it, prevailed for centuries among the Hebrew people, we have a decisive evidence of their belief in a future life. Specific passages also manifest that, even in the oldest parts of the Old Testament, death is never thought of as annihilation, as the completed end of existence. When it is said of Abraham that he is gathered to his fathers certainly more is meant, dying as he did far from his ancestral home, than the possession of a common tomb with them. In David's remark, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me," the continued existence of his child is taken for granted. The author of Job, being fully in possession of the ideas of his people, could not have diverged from them so as to deny to man a species of immortality. (3.) But that Job held the belief in a future life is clear from a study of certain references in the book itself. Before we treat the more positive passages, however, it is necessary to say a word concerning those references which have been brought forward as implying annihilation. Thus, in chapter vii, 8, Job says to God, "Thine eyes are upon me, and I am not." And again, in chapter vii, 21 (R. V.), he asks, "Why dost thou not pardon my transgression, and take away mine iniquity? For now shall I lie down in the dust; and thou shalt seek me diligently, but I shall not be." In the last of these passages Job simply means that death will soon hurry

him away, and, unless God shows him a renewal of favor soon, he will have no chance to do this and thus vindicate his ways before men. In the former passage the thought is much the same. That the reference to being no more is not to be taken absolutely he proves by the simile of a cloud, which illustrates the impossibility of a return from sheol, and not the soul's utter destruction. Nor does xiv, 7–12, with other similar passages, give us dogmatic utterances, but popular representations of the grave, such as are still current in literature. In the visible order of nature the dead do not return again, but are consumed and vanish away like the flood. Says a commentator, "In enlarging on this aspect of death the writers of the Old Testament are not stating the real condition of the soul after death, but only its apparent one, as derived from the life we are now enjoying." Otherwise these negative passages would be in contradiction to those which clearly imply continued existence. Some of these passages are the references made to the shades and conditions of life in the underworld, which will be considered in a subsequent paragraph. In such references as that in xiv, 22 (R. V.), which says of man in Sheol, "But his flesh upon him hath pain, and his soul within him mourneth," we have a certain proof that Job thinks of the shades as existing, since he clearly means to indicate their experience of pain and sorrow as inhabitants of the joyless and gloomy underworld. One cannot read the famous seventeenth verse of chapter three without seeing that with Job the dead still in a sense continue their existence. Such a passage as xiv, 13 (R. V.), "O that thou wouldest hide me in Sheol, that thou wouldest keep me secret, until thy wrath be past," could only have been written by one who had some conception of a future life. The old proof text of immortality in xix, 26, 27, is held by many to refer to Job's vindication while he is still on the earth; but, as will be seen when we later examine it, the passage rather refers to a vindication which Job shall behold when he becomes an inhabitant of Sheol.

Still, while it is clear that Job believed in a future life we think those greatly err who place his development of the doctrine almost on a par with the New Testament revelation. It is one thing to have an idea of future continuance, and another to have an evangelical hope of everlasting life. That the latter

was not possessed by the writer of the Book of Job is seen in the fact that the whole drift of its thought is against the supposition. Says one writer, and we think truly, "If a clear knowledge of the future had been held there would have been no problem, and the book could not have been written." Both by Job and his friends the doctrine of immortality is continually ignored, and that when it is the key to the mystery they are endeavoring to fathom. This doctrine would have wonderfully helped them in reconciling the experiences of life with the righteousness of God. It would have sustained Job in the fiery furnace of his trial. But, instead of this, through the poem runs the minor chord of the sufferer's despair. Job speaks out of the depth of his sorrow, a time when a soul would lay hold for comfort on all it knows; but he continually wraps himself in the densest gloom and hangs about him drapery as dark as a funeral pall, declaring that the thoughts of his heart bring night into the day. He sadly calls corruption his father, and the worm his mother and sister. The grave is his house, and the grave is to him a place where his hopes perish—a thing which he plainly dreads almost as much as his sufferings. Indeed, as we read Job's words we cannot but feel that the darkness of the future which is drawing its curtain about him—for he expects speedy death—is quite as much a cause of his anguish as are his misfortunes. With him, as with the Hebrews generally, the future was utterly without hope, a dire calamity desirable only to put an end to extreme misfortune.

The inquiry, therefore, becomes especially interesting as to what Job did believe on the question of the future life. In chapter xxx, 23, he says, "For I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and to the house appointed for all living." This house appointed for all the living is not simply the grave, but Sheol, "the great involuntary rendezvous of all who live in this world." The word "Sheol" is of disputed derivation. Winer, Hengstenberg, and others think it comes from שָׁאַל, which is equivalent to *poscere*, "to ask," so that the kingdom of the dead would mean that which is insatiable in its demands (Prov. i, 12, Isa. v, 14; Heb. ii, 5). The majority of modern Hebrew scholars, however, find the root of the word in שָׁאָה, which signifies "ravine," or "abyss." Sheol is located by Job, as by the ancients generally, below the earth, since in xi, 8,

he speaks of its depths. It is a sad and gloomy region, where the dead spread their couch in the darkness (xvii, 13). It is also termed (x, 22, R. V.) "a land of thick darkness, as darkness itself; a land of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness." Here we have as terribly vivid a picture of the superlative gloom of the underworld as when Milton, in his description of hell, writes of "darkness visible." The Vulgate corresponds with Job's idea when it speaks of Sheol as "a murky land covered with the thick darkness of death; a land of wretchedness and obscurities where is the shadow of death and no order, but sempiternal horror dwells everywhere." It is entered through barred gates (xvii, 16; xxxviii, 17), and in its dust its inhabitants lie down (vii, 21; xxi, 26). Although beneath the earth, its location is not known (xxxviii, 19), nor has anyone seen even the shadow of its gates (xxxviii, 17). Throughout its borders confusion reigns (x, 22). There is no exit from it. "He that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house" (vii, 9, 10, R. V.). Yea, the heavens shall pass away before he shall rise (xiv, 12). In sharp distinction from the land of the living (xxviii, 13), Sheol is pictured as the land of destruction (xxviii, 22). Over it King Silence sways his scepter.

One cannot but notice the similarity of this description of Sheol to that found in the Babylonian poem called "The Descent of Istar." Here the underworld is spoken of as follows:

> The land whence none return, the region of [darkness],
> To the house of darkness, the seat of the god Irkalla,
> To the house from whose entrance there is no exit,
> To the road whose course never leads back,
> To the house whose inmate is shut off from light;
> Where dust is their substance, clay their food,
> The light they behold not, in darkness they dwell,
> They are clad like a bird with a garment of feathers,
> Over the door and bolt is scattered the dust.

Nor does this similarity seem strange when we remember that to a considerable extent the Hebrew religion, although favored with a distinct revelation, grew up on the basis of Semitic thought and worship.

The condition of those in Sheol is drawn by Job in colors

equally dark with his description of the underworld itself. The departed are termed "shades," which is derived from a word meaning "to be slack, relaxed, exhausted, weak, powerless." Zöckler calls them "the marrowless and bloodless shades or forms of the underworld; the wretched inhabitants of the realm of the dead." Whether the body and soul were thought by Job to be together in Sheol is a question on which commentators disagree; but it is certain that he did not look at the soul as entirely without corporeity. Thus, in xiv, 22 (R. V.), he says of the dead that "his flesh upon him hath pain, and his soul within him mourneth." The idea of abstract spirituality is not found in the views of any early people; it comes only when the philosophic mind has been largely developed. Hence, notwithstanding the attempts of some to so explain this passage as to leave the soul and body separate in Job's mind, it is clear that he regarded the former as retaining a certain residue of its earthly body in the underworld. While the dead have a certain self-consciousness this seems only to extend to a vague realization of their misery, so that Sheol may be appropriately called "the land of forgetfulness." Especially is there no perception of what occurs in the upper world. "His sons come to honor, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them" (xiv, 21, R. V.). Job's idea seems much the same as that in Ecclesiastes (ix, 5, 6, 10), where the dead are spoken of as knowing nothing, and as having no longer a reward, while their love, their hatred, and their envy are perished. Indeed, existence in Sheol is a condition more resembling death than life, and therefore it is often spoken of as a kind of perpetual sleep (xiv, 12). The power of God is sufficient to disturb it (xxvi, 6), and it is a proof of his omnipotence that this is so. Because of this deep lethargy, this semiconscious condition, in which the dead lie, the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest (iii, 17). All classes and conditions of men are blended together, the poor with kings and counselors of the earth who built up waste places for themselves or filled their houses with silver (iii, 14, 15). The differences so marked on the earth disappear. The servant is free from his master, and prisoners hear not the voice of their overseers. As Seneca says, "Death reduces by a just law to a state of equality all who in their

families and circumstances had unequal lots in life." The thought is similar to that of the Greek poet:

> Where they an equal honor share
> Who buried or unburied are;
> Where Agamemnon knows no more
> Than Irus he contemned before;
> Where fair Achilles and Thersite lie
> Equally naked, poor, and dry.

Our conclusion, then, is that Job looked at Sheol as a dread and gloomy region, and the condition of those who had departed as one without hope (xiv, 7; xvii, 15). We do not wonder that, with all his conscious integrity, he shrank back from it as a calamity. Only for one reason could man welcome it—as a relief from pains and sorrows more dreadful to bear than the shadowy, vegetating existence of the underworld.

This view of the future world which Job gives us is much the same as prevails in classical antiquity. It is uniformly spoken of in such terms as "the dismal region," "the lonely land," "the dark regions," "the black place of eternal night," "the dolesome realm of darkness," or "the dark domain." In his visit to the realm of the dead Ulysses meets with Achilles, whom he thus addresses:

> But sure the eye of Time beholds no name
> So blessed as thine, in all the realms of fame:
> Alive, we hailed thee with our guardian gods,
> And dead, thou rul'st a king in these abodes.

To which Achilles replies in the following words:

> Talk not of ruling in this dolorous gloom,
> Nor think vain words, he cried, can ease my doom.
> Rather I'd choose laboriously to bear
> A weight of woes, and breathe the vital air
> A slave to some poor hind that toils for bread,
> Than reign the sceptered monarch of the dead.

Another important inquiry has reference to the doctrine of rewards which the Book of Job presents. This is, indeed, the central theme of the composition. The author is a highly poetic and meditative soul, and is troubled over the prevailing opinions of his day upon the question of retribution. A theory of temporal rewards and punishments had long been taught in Israel. The righteous are prospered and the wicked are afflicted. Against this doctrine, advocated by his three friends,

Job contends with all his might, and, falling back on experience, shows that often the wicked live and wax mighty in power (xxi, 7), while the righteous are troubled all their days. Where, then, is the solution? God is just and good; his righteousness is as the light. How can there be such a conflict between justice and moral worth? Or, how can the apparent contradictions in the law of rewards be explained? Job's friends try to reconcile them by the principle of hope—not the anticipation of future recompense, but the hope that, if a man continue in integrity, his momentary sufferings will give place to happiness, while the prosperity of the wicked must come at length to a terrible end. But this is not a solution; for no amount of subsequent prosperity, on the theory of merely temporal rewards, can atone for a good man's misfortune and misery. And it is here that the weakness of the epilogue of the drama comes to view. The giving of double to Job for all he lost did not excuse the righteousness of God in making him suffer—which is the point in dispute. Elihu comes forward, however, with a different and better solution. He points to the fact that the explanation is to be found in the infinite wisdom of God, which it is folly for man to seek to follow, and in the fact that sufferings may come to the righteous as a purifying discipline. To this Job assents, and confesses that the way of God is in the sea, and that man must humbly submit to what the higher wisdom brings him. But this submission is without hope. There is no indication that the light will ever emerge from behind the cloud; and there is no suggestion that any compensation will ever come to the man who has perished in his misery. As Schultz says, "The real difficulty is not touched." The one-sided idea that suffering is penal is not balanced by any doctrine of the future adjustments, as must necessarily have been the case if Job had known anything more than the doctrine of merely temporal rewards and punishments. The thought of the whole poem seems to be that this world is the only place for the action of God's government, and that a failure in its justice here would be a breach in the entire system of moral order. Some have professed to see suggested in certain passages the rewards of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked in the future world; but there is not a verse in the book which, rightly

interpreted, gives this thought. The reason there is no doctrine of future rewards in the poem—a doctrine which presents one of the most powerful motives for human action—is plainly the empty character of the future life as Job conceived it. And this is true of the entire Old Testament. We find that neither the law, the moralists, nor the prophets appeal to reward and punishment beyond the grave as a motive for right action—a fact that seems very strange when we remember how largely the Hebrew religion is an ethical one. The reason for this is that the doctrine of immortality is too vague and unsubstantial to admit of it; and another reason is that, until the time of the exile, the idea of the individual is largely merged and lost in the idea of the nation.

In this particular, also, we find a striking similarity between the ideas of Job and the old Semites. The ancient Babylonians taught the same doctrine of temporal rewards and punishments in much the same way. Their gods dealt almost exclusively with the living. As early as 4000 B. C. we find kings erecting temples for the preservation and prolongation of their lives. Tiglath-pileser says of his grandfather Asur-dân, "The work of his hands and the offering of his sacrifice pleased the gods so that he arrived at the highest age of all." The punishment of evil-doers was likewise with earthly sickness, misfortune, and death. In an incantation we read, "Whoso fears not his god, like a reed shall he be cut off." However, for a few special favorites of the gods there was a happier state, as they were translated to an isle of blessedness and there continued, enjoying the same kind of existence they had in this world. Later, as the doctrine of immortality was developed, there came to be granted to men the same privileges that had at first been extended only to the heroes of epic song. This similarity of view between the Hebrews and Babylonians is found in the common derivation of both, for there is much truth in the remark of Schultz: "The view of Mosaism of the condition after death is clearly, throughout, not an Old Testament religious doctrine. It is a national or racial one in all its characteristics."

There yet remains one phase of the doctrine of the future life in the Book of Job to be investigated. This relates to the resurrection of the dead. Did Job have a belief that at last men would rise from Sheol to a renewed life? Many

writers are very confident of this. Pope, in his *Theology*, says that no criticism can rob us of Job's ancient testimony to the resurrection of the body. Adam Clarke tells us that in Job we have a revelation of the general resurrection. Dr. Cooke, in his book on *Doctrines of the Resurrection*, devotes twenty-five pages to an attempt to show that "in various places throughout the Book of Job the doctrine of a resurrection is distinctly taught or implied;" and, "if this be denied, many passages will be wholly without satisfactory meaning, and the interpretation of the book as a whole somewhat doubtful." These writers but express the opinions of scores of others.

But, notwithstanding all that is said, we have here a case in which the wish is father to the thought; for there is no correct exegesis which can show such a doctrine in the book. In the first place, the thought of individual resurrection is the last of the religious ideas developed in the Old Testament. It is clearly taught only in one passage (Dan. xii, 2), and even here a general resurrection is not spoken of. "Many," says Daniel, not all, "shall awake." As Reuss suggests, it is probable that to the prophet the favor of a resurrection is reserved for the Jews only. In Isa. xxvi, 19, we have a passage which, with the indefiniteness of poetry, suggests that the idea of individual resurrection was increasing among the people. In some of the later Psalms, as, for example, xlix, lxxiii, cxxxix, we may have more or less distinct foregleams of the thought, although some of the ablest critics contend that their references are to protection from the penal death of the wicked, and rest and blessedness in the present life. Ezek. xxxvii has been much relied on by those who see this doctrine in the Old Testament. On this Schultz has well commented, as follows:

> Undoubtedly the real reference of this passage is to the people of Israel. Some might, indeed, find in the very simile used by the prophet a proof that the resurrection of the dead was a thought with which pious minds were then familiar. But it seems to me to prove the very opposite. If the belief in a resurrection of individuals had been known to the prophet, then his reply to the question, "Can these bones live?" must surely have been, "Certainly, Lord." And, in that case, this whole vision would be no longer a sign. The field full of dead men's bones would no longer be an emblem of a hopelessness too great for human thought to overcome, nor the raising of the bones a miracle of miracles. On the contrary, the bones would of themselves be a sign of hope; and their being raised

would be an event to be expected as a matter of course. Instead of a miraculous pledge of something otherwise incredible we should have a rather weak parable, "As certainly as those corpses will rise again, so certainly will dead Israel also be raised from the dead." Consequently this passage was well suited to arouse in the reader a belief in the resurrection of individuals also. But a proof that such a belief already existed it most assuredly is not.

These passages are the principal ones claimed for a belief in a resurrection, except those in Job, which we shall soon examine, and all of them except the one in Daniel are deficient. Hence we claim that the presumption is against the doctrine of the resurrection being taught in Job, since it was not a dogma of Hebrew theology in his day, and did not develop till a much later date, of which Reuss writes as follows:

> The feverish expectation of the end, a hatred of oppression that was not satisfied by the prospect of a temporal and fleeting vengeance—above all, the conviction that eternal righteousness could not allow the countless victims who died for their God and their faith to fall unrewarded—all these causes finally gave rise to a belief in the resurrection of the dead and a judgment beyond the tomb.

If we turn to an examination of the passages in Job which are claimed to teach the resurrection we shall have the presumption sustained. In xiii, 15, we find that famous verse which is the basis of several celebrated hymns and poems: "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him"—an utterance which Cooke calls "an expression of the most triumphant hope in the salvation of God." Unfortunately for him, however, the proper translation of this passage is, "Lo, he may slay me, yet will I wait for him." Delitzsch renders it, "I wait for him that he may slay me." The thought seems to be that, through his disease, Job will soon be brought to his dissolution, and seeing his condition is hopeless he waits for his end. Again, chapter xiv, 7–14, is often brought forward with great confidence. Says Cooke, "Every figure here used indicates Job's belief in a resurrection." We must, however, differ with him. In the earlier verses Job says that man's condition is more hopeless than the palm tree, which if hewn down may sprout again, or, though its root wax old and its stock die in the ground, may be revived when it feels the vivifying energy of water. "But man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he? As the waters fail from the sea,

and the river decayeth and drieth up; so man lieth down and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be roused out of their sleep" (R. V.). Unlike the tree whose death is only apparent, but like the dried flood which perishes without hope, is man. Some say, however, that Job held that finally, at the destruction of nature, when the heavens and earth pass away, men will awake and be restored. Cooke tries to show that the destruction of the heavens was a current belief among various ancient peoples; yet some at least of those whom he quotes did not think of the destruction of the universe, but only of the periodical renovation of the earth. Our real inquiry, however, should be as to what the Hebrews thought on this question. Delitzsch has well pointed out that they viewed the heavens as imperishable. He says:

> What does not happen until the heavens are no more never happens; because God has called the heavens and the stars with their laws into existence (Psalm cxlviii, 6); they never cease (Jer. xxxi, 35); the days of heaven are eternal (Psalm lxxxix, 30 [29]). This is not opposed to declarations like Psalm cii, 27, for the world's history, according to the Scripture, closes with a change in all these, but not their annihilation.

Says Zöckler, "According to the popular conception of the Hebrews, the heavens endured forever (Psalm lxxxix, 30 [29]; Jer. xxxi, 35)." Says Professor Evans, "It is assuredly straining the language, and at variance with the connection and with Job's present mood, to assume in the expression an implication that when the phenomenal heavens should disappear man would awake." Canon Cook, in the *Bible Commentary*, alludes to the expression as "equivalent to a denial of the possibility of restoration to life." In chapter xiv, 13, Job hopes that Sheol may be a place of safety for him till the wrath of God is turned away, when he trusts he may be remembered again in mercy. This is his wish; but he recoils from it as if without foundation, asking, "If a man die, shall he live again?" Yet he does not suggest the possibility of an affirmative answer, but the reverse. "All the days of my warfare would I wait till my release should come" (R. V.). Here he likens his life to the service of the soldier who must endure the privation and suffering incident to his occupation, and says he will wait till his change of condition comes.

The principal utterance of Job, however, which is relied

upon to teach the doctrine of the resurrection is in chapter xix, 25–27. It is not necessary to say that this is a very difficult passage. It is involved and obscure, and there is not a little probability that the text has become corrupt. Many writers may be quoted on both sides concerning its reference to the resurrection, though nearly all the later critical scholars agree that it does not. The reasons for their opinion are that this supposition is out of harmony with the design of the poem and the course of the argument; that, if it makes such reference, the idea must have been alluded to in order to solve the problem discussed; that the connection in which it stands and the reply of Zophar are against the interpretation; that neither Job's friend, Elihu, nor the Almighty refers to it as a source of consolation; that it is inconsistent with Job's frequent longings for death as the end of his miseries; that the later Jews who searched the Scriptures for proofs on this question never bring it in evidence; that the correct translation of the passage does not support it, and that the subsequent passages show no such changes of thought on the part of Job as they must if he has suddenly awaked to new light. What, then, is the proper interpretation of the passage? Job has been appealing to his friends not to persecute him further. He wishes that his assertions of innocence were recorded in a book, engraved with an iron pen on a rock, and the engraved letters filled in with lead to render them still more imperishable, that they might go down to posterity as a witness to the integrity of his conscience. Then his faith in the righteousness and justice of God asserts itself—a faith rooted in the deepest consciousness of the true Hebrew—and he cries out, "I know that my avenger liveth"—Elvah is here implied—"and that he will arise over the dust," that is, the dust in which he is soon to make his grave; "and after my skin and the flesh adhering to it shall have been torn to pieces, or rotted away in the grave, yet, free from my flesh," or "out of it," for this is the better rendering of the original, "I shall behold Eloah." This does not mean that Job considered he would have a purely incorporeal existence in Sheol, for, as we have seen, such was not his belief. He thought of the soul as having a substantial, though vague and shadowy, corporeity in the underworld. Thus, the passage simply teaches that the time will come when Job shall see from Sheol

God vindicating his integrity against his enemies. It is the desperate affirmation of his tormented spirit at a time when he expects soon to die, rising to grasp in a larger way his belief in God's righteousness and justice. If it is objected to this that Job did not believe that those in Sheol could see what occurs on the earth, we may reply that he teaches God's power to be such that it can arouse the sleepers; and he probably feels that the case is so important that he will be permitted to see his vindication. Or, as is more probable, he may be speaking in vision, merely meaning to affirm that such a vindication will occur. This interpretation is more in harmony with the obvious phraseology of the passage than the view that Job will live to see, before he dies, his vindication and restoration. Our conclusion, then, is that the passage teaches the existence of the soul in Sheol, but that it in nowise teaches the doctrine of a resurrection. On this subject Job was in ignorance, as were all the other Hebrew writers before the exile.

Such, then, is the doctrine of the future life in the Book of Job. While the thought of future continuance was in the writer's mind the larger hope as revealed in the New Testament was not known to him. It is Jesus Christ who has brought life and immortality to light; not that he introduced the conception, but that he filled up the vague and shadowy outline with revelations of infinite meaning. He made the doctrine a living force in the lives of men. He enriched and developed it so that it has become one of the strongest motives in influencing human action. All that is really helpful and inspiring in the doctrine we owe to him.

Samuel Plantz

Art. VI.—THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF BALZAC.

French romance, until recently read by few Americans, is now rapidly becoming a staple of our literature. Rabelais, Alfred de Musset, Alexandre Dumas, Paul de Kock, Gautier, George Sand, Victor Hugo, Balzac are names as familiar as those of our English novelists. Our schools have opened the floodgates of a foreign tongue, and the waters are pouring forth in babbling torrents. Curiosity had been whetted by warnings and appetite intensified by our excited life; so that the American mind was prepared to receive these streams of brilliant story. Translators who timidly experimented with a few of the most Englishlike of the French novels were astounded at the avidity of their reception, and are now putting the most Frenchlike into our speech. Imitations are made; with what success is seen in the unparalleled popularity of Du Maurier.

It is often asserted that the charm of the French romance is its immorality. If that were true it would soon lose its life. The charm of vice is not its viciousness. When corruption is stripped of its enticing garb it is revolting. Even those who live in filth do not admire it. The charm of the French story is its vivacity, its transparent clearness, its sparkling gayety, its fragrance of philosophic mysticism emitted from the bloom of a richly colored flower, its cheerful view of life, which contrasts so happily with the sober and almost sermonish air of many an English tale. These are the qualities which give to French romance its magnetism. If they shelter an irreverence toward religion or a glorification of uncleanness they are indeed perilous. A harlot adorned as a goddess, though worshiped under the vault of Notre Dame, is a harlot still; and, if she can be dethroned only by the destruction of her shrine, then it would be well for every lover of the pure to join the ranks of the iconoclasts and batter down the noble temple which houses the abomination.

Can the charge of immorality which is so often made against French romance in general be sustained against the work of Balzac in particular? He has his detractors. Rome and Madrid at one time prohibited his works. Venice through an entire carnival reveled in a masquerade of his characters.

The question is a serious one; for this colossal figure has come into romance as Shakespeare came into drama. Less than fifty years have passed since Victor Hugo pronounced the funeral eulogium over the open grave of his friend in Père la Chaise, and already the ablest critics give him the foremost place in his sphere, unapproached and unapproachable therein through all time and all countries.

Never in the literary world was genius more closely wedded to erudition, industry, personal purity, artistic finish, productiveness. His fecundity is astounding. His biographer, Saltus, has with great accuracy prepared a Balzac bibliography; and the titles and dates of his books cover thirty-four 12mo pages. He had planned to write for his *Comédie Humaine* one hundred and forty-four stories; eighty-eight were finished, together with numerous other treatises, essays, articles, and plays, when his prolific pen fell from his wearied fingers. Nor do any of these stories bear the marks of haste. His severest critic was himself. His mode of handling his proofs was as pathetic as it was laborious. He would erase, interline, cover the margin with whole paragraphs, and sometimes leave hardly a trace of the original. The second proof was handled as the first; and such was his desire for perfection that this process he would often repeat ten times before he sent out his work to the world. The result was, every stone he laid in his edifice was a finished work of art and will bear the closest scrutiny.

But each part is so closely related to the whole that to appreciate what this architect has done we must view the building in its entirety. Gautier likens the work of his friend to a cathedral of a town, hidden by the neighboring houses, but which seen from the horizon is outlined immense above the flattened roofs. "The structure he builded towers upward as we recede from it and awes us by its hugeness; and surprised generations will ask each other, 'What manner of man is this giant who alone has heaved up these formidable blocks and reared so high this Babel where are heard the murmurings of all social orders?'" Such a phenomenal product will be read and studied as the centuries move on. Lovers of literature will yield to its fascination as they do to the bard of Avon, and lovers of purity will anxiously inquire as to its moral influence.

The character of the man prepares us to believe in the

essential purity of his work. His was an exceptionally chaste life. George Sand, who knew his habits, says, "His private life covers no black spots." Gautier describes the moral code which his intimate personal friend laid down for himself as one that rivals the severity of Trappist or Carthusian friars. Against all examples to the contrary, he insisted that simple habits and absolute chastity were essential to the development of the highest literary faculty, and that all excess is the ruin of talent. His ablest disciples say that *Louis Lambert* is largely autobiographical. If so his was a great and aspiring soul struggling in its chrysalis for that beautiful and lofty life for which every human spirit is destined. That so-called novel is really a profound psychological study, as pure and as delicate as a Hebrew psalm. *Albert Savarus* is supposed by many to be a picture of the author's relation to women. Fiction gives no more heroic and spotless love. Not even Ibsen, whose frosty purity is unquestioned, and who has conceived a similar situation, can equal the high tone of Balzac's passion and the all but divine mode of its use.

Balzac was more than moral. He was religious. We have often been pained by the utter inability of most of the great English novelists to conceive and correctly present true ministers of the cross. These are usually represented as weak, hypocritical, or ridiculous. This Frenchman, with his amazing gift of insight into the springs of human character, is almost the only great story-writer who fathoms the motive of the sacred calling. His priests and nuns are the veritable creatures who so nobly combated the triumphing wickedness and distress of the restoration. While a sacred name did not deter him from exposing the vices of professionalism he everywhere exhibits reverence for the genuinely good.

He was, however, too great a spirit to limit his faith to the current doctrine of the Roman Church, in which he was born. Nor was he oblivious of its grievous errors. He studied and almost worshiped the Bible. His *Jesus Christ in Flanders* is a most powerful phantasmagoria, in which the decrepitude of the Church is pictured as an old hag, hairless, toothless, withered almost to a skeleton, with wrinkled skin over her livid face, clad with dusty rags of holy office. He addresses her, "Miserable woman, why do you prostitute yourself to men? You

grew rich in the heyday of your passions, and you forgot your pure and fragrant youth, your sublime devotions, your innocent principles, your fruitful beliefs. You abdicated your primitive power, your supremacy wholly spiritual, to gain the powers of the flesh. Abandoning your linen vestments, your mossy couch, your grottoes illumined with divine lights, you have sparkled in diamonds, in luxury, in lust. Proud, insolent, desiring all things, obtaining all things, overthrowing all things that were in your way, like a prostitute in vogue who pursues her pleasure, you have been sanguinary as a queen besotted by will." Thus he presses his scathing indictment of the mother Church in a way that would have delighted the heart of Knox or the most savage anti-Romanist. But he closes his story with, "To believe is to live. I have lately seen the obsequies of a monarchy; we must now defend the Church."

Who but one who knew the life of God in the human soul could have uttered such sentences as these: "The final life, the fruition of all other lives to which the powers of the soul have tended, and whose merits open the sacred portals to perfected man, is the life of prayer. Who can make you comprehend the grandeur, the majesty, the might of prayer? Be now here what you may be after cruel trial. There are privileged beings, prophets, seers, messengers, and martyrs, all those who suffer for the word and proclaim it: such souls spring at a bound across the human sphere and rise at once to prayer. So, too, with those souls who receive the fire of faith. . . . God welcomes boldness. He loves to be taken by violence. . : . A single cry uttered under the pressure of faith suffices. God reveals himself unfalteringly to the solitary thoughtful seeker."

Like most men of deep intuitions, Balzac was strongly attracted by the mystical schools of thought. He reveled in the misty philosophies of Swedenborg, the spiritual contemplations of Madame Guyon, and the occult studies of the Orient. Out of these came that unique piece of heavenly fiction, *Seraphita*. She is the final efflorescence of the spiritual principle after its complete triumph over the animalism in which the divine is sown. A corrupt heart could not conceive, or, conceiving, could never execute, so divine a figure.

But while we acknowledge the personal purity of the author of the *Comédie Humaine* the fact remains that in many of its

stories low vice, passion, intrigue, deception, pass before us in such a way as to disturb our Puritan sense of decency. Some of them, such as *La Physiologie du Mariage* and *La Cousine Bette*, we would put out of the reach of young people. But to be just we must say that these stories were made necessary by the purpose of his work, which was to picture the entire life of the first half of the nineteenth century in France. His work is not in the ordinary sense a novel. It is a profound sociological and ethical study. The story would not be complete without the Marneffes, the Hulots, the Brideaus, whose vile descendants pollute our half of the century as they did the first. Balzac disowns that they are the creatures of his imagination. He merely described what he saw. Nor are his descriptions in any way debasing, excepting it be for those who are already corrupt and who would suck impurity from things most sacred. They do not resemble the offensive brutality of Tolstoi, nor the exaggerated coloring of Zola, nor the reckless *abandon* of George Sand. The story is told with a clearness that conceals nothing, yet is not shocking. Without any moralizing the natural unfolding of events awakens a horror of low vices which wreck fortunes, homes, and character. Virtue glows with a beauty that kindles the admiration even of those who will not follow her. He says: "My blushing critics veil their faces before certain personages in the *Comédie Humaine*, who are, unfortunately, as true as the others and set in strong relief in my vast picture of the morals of the times. But I defy them to cite a single passage in which religion or the family is attacked." His resentment is just. Nowhere does he make vice respectable or virtue degraded in his readers' eyes. Whichever triumphs, the meaning of the book is never left doubtful. It is the scientific and moral purpose which pervades these tales that is their justification. His fiction is a work of ethics which the people can read and understand.

Another thing should be considered. An absolute moral standard has not yet been given. Moral principles, perhaps we should say conventionalisms which are taken for principles, vary with latitude and language. The unveiled faces of our women are, according to Mohammedan thought, a gross indecency. But Christian thought takes the veil to be a badge of a shameful heart, proclaiming, rather than concealing, the

festering immorality. Suppose that veil to be woven of speech rather than fabric, does the difference affect the principle?

It is not fair to judge Balzac by his English dress. The transference of a French form into our speech does not bear with it the French view-point. That indescribable something we call the life of a tongue does not inhere in its articulation, but in the soul that breathes its thought. Accurate translation will often turn an exquisite work of art into a shocking reality. At once it is corrupt and corrupting. For this reason it were better that much of our great French philosopher should never be rendered in English. As it is, he should never be placed in the hands of children, if, indeed, children could be induced to read a work so mature. He himself said, "I write not for girls, but for men." But for those who can feel the deep, sad life of this sinning and suffering race—ignorant of its meaning, fainting in the pursuit of chimeras, perplexed by its supermundane mysteries, seduced by its vices, miserable in its pleasures, confused by its antagonizing religions, aspiring for the heavens from out of the despair of a deadly animalism —we commend the *Comédie Humaine.*

Among the two or three thousand types that there pass before us every reader will behold himself and his neighbor. He will see the good and the bad mingling together in the diverse complications of actual life. Actions will be traced along the line of varied motive back to their original spring in the deeps of character. The innermost of the human soul with its depravities and its sanctities will come forth from their concealment and exhibit themselves in unrobed truthfulness. The history of passions will be followed on through their self-deceptions and disguises to their natural destiny. It is a sad picture. But such is this quivering social order in which we live, and which we call Christian civilization. Balzac saw it all, and faithfully and accurately reported what he saw. But amid that all but universal ruin this one fact stands forth as unmistakable as truth—it is the good alone that remains erect, itself unharmed and constituting humanity's final hope.

A. H. Tuttle.

Art. VII.—THE RETURN TO FAITH.

For about a generation past the thought of the English-speaking world has been marked by certain negative tendencies best characterized by the term "agnostic," coined for their description by the late Professor Huxley. On the Continent a similar period of negation began somewhat earlier, and the process of disintegration has covered a wider field. In Britain the agnostic movement was for the most part a development of the empiricism traditional to English philosophy, in alliance with natural science and invigorated with new life by the doctrine of evolution. On the Continent it has been the downfall of the *a priori* systems of speculation; the advance of the scientific, not to say the materialistic, spirit; the development of the historical method in its application to the origin of human institutions, especially to the origins of religion; the criticism of the documentary records of Christianity; and the growth of democracy, not only in its revolutionary but also in its socialistic and anarchistic phases, that have made our time one of uncertainty and travail.

Within a twelvemonth, however, a striking series of deliverances by various leaders of opinion has given rise to the belief that this era of doubt is drawing toward its close. In France M. Brunetière has used his visit to the Vatican as a text from which to preach the bankruptcy of science as a guide for life, and to proclaim a return to the bosom of Mother Church as a present duty, in preference even to the neo-Christianity of M. Melchior de Vogue, and to the other neo-religions so numerous in the Paris of recent years. In England Mr. Huxley's Romanes lecture of May, 1893, on "Evolution and Ethics," which culminated in the thesis that "the cosmical process" and "the ethical process" stand in direct antagonism, had not ceased to be a center of debate, when three notable books appeared, each of which in turn brought evidence of a new movement in the direction of philosophical or religious faith. In his work on *Social Evolution* Mr. Benjamin Kidd brilliantly argues in behalf of the position that the evolutionary process, in its social manifestations, is itself dependent on religion as a motive and a sanction. Mr. Balfour signalized his leisure from the cares of

state by giving to the world his *Foundations of Belief*, in which, with an echo alike of Hume's skepticism and of Bishop Butler's analogical method, he maintains that the necessary implications of natural science have their parallel in postulates that serve to bulwark the fundamental truths of æsthetic, moral, and religious life. Finally, the posthumous *Thoughts on Religion* of Professor Romanes show that before his death he had returned to the enjoyment of theistic and Christian belief; so that the "Physicus" who twenty years ago wrote *A Candid Examination of Theism*, with its agnostic conclusions, had matured a "candid examination" of religion in a distinctly apologetic spirit.

Not less remarkable than the appearance of these works has been the reception which they have met. The eagerness of the public to hail them as signs of a return to faith has proved how deep the faith still strikes its roots in the heart of the western world, and has revealed the tension under which many earnest minds have suffered; but it has also shown how greatly the age has misconceived the nature of the forces at work in its midst. For, like the man who counts his own burden heavier than that of any other of his kind, we have been so blinded by our doubts and difficulties that it has been easy to fear our age was to be marked by the final dissolution of fixed beliefs. Friends and foes of systematic thinking have combined, the ones to dread, the others to hope, that the perplexities of thought which the last half century has brought were so grave that no way of escape could possibly be discovered. Thus we have overlooked the fact that our troublous time is not unique in the history of the world. Proud of our enlightenment, we have committed the unenlightened blunder of taking our own experiences too seriously, in forgetfulness of the truth that the world has seen several such skeptical periods in the past—the age of the Sophists in Greece, the transition from mediæval to modern times, and the eighteenth century in Europe, to name no others; that these various eras exhibit a family likeness; and that one characteristic point of resemblance among them is the law of action and reaction, under which the skeptical movement works out its own dissolution until the period of doubt gives place at length to one of more positive belief.* In consequence the

* See "Transitional Eras in Thought," by the same writer, in *The New World*, September, 1895.

struggle with the problems of the time has been severer than it might have proved had the men of the nineteenth century been conscious the while that the conflict in which they are engaged has had its parallels in the past, and that the experience of their fellows gives them the right to look forward with hope to the future.

Moreover, the tokens of a change in the temper of the age have not been confined to the year just ending, or to any one country, or to any single department of thought. Philosophy has revived as men have felt anew the perennial impulse to seek answers for the great questions of existence, so that, if the time is still far from being an age of speculation, there is a marked recovery from the decline of a generation ago. In Germany the progress of science has itself occasioned the study of those principles of method and of knowledge which lie at the basis of scientific investigation. In England speculative thinking has gone farther than the German philosophy of the day, which for the most part remains shy of the deepest metaphysical problems, and in the revived idealism of the neo-Kantian and neo-Hegelian type has advanced the most systematic counter-theory to agnostic evolutionism that the age has known. In the United States there has sprung up a marked interest in the newer psychological researches, and, more notable still, as our civilization progresses and education develops, a vigorous movement toward the consideration of philosophical questions in their most general and principiant aspects.* On the side of practice, also, it is not hard to recognize a deeper note as the age grows older and the principles of its life work out their results in conduct. To mention but one factor in the ethical movement, the social perplexities of the time are forcing thought back to the discussion of ethical principles, for, while naturalism begins to recoil from the practical developments which in part, at least, must be counted its own product, thinkers of various schools are perceiving how large a measure of truth is embodied in the doctrine expressed by the title of a recent German treatise, "The Social Question an Ethical Question." In the matter of religion it may be noted that, like philosophy and morals, theology is not without its tendencies of

* See "Philosophy in the United States," by the same writer, in the *Educational Review*, June, 1895.

reaction toward more conservative theories, as well as those "advanced" or "liberal" movements which have formed so prominent a feature in recent theological opinion. For, if questions of criticism now stand in the forefront of theological discussions, and if the Old Testament records seem in danger from a disintegrating attack, which must radically alter the view hitherto taken of them by the Christian world, it must be remembered that the New Testament writings, passing through the same fire of criticism, have been found to stand the test much more successfully than appeared possible in the early days of the controversy, and that, in regard to the older book as well, there are evident the beginnings of a movement to reconstruct, on the basis of critical results, more positive theories of the history and religion of Israel. Apart, too, from special questions of theology, there is observable in many quarters a new disposition to estimate religion at some real value. It may be too much to say, as it has recently been said, that there is to-day no scientist who reckons religion a delusion; but it is plain that both science and philosophy have retreated to a not inconsiderable degree from the negative, or even contemptuous, attitude assumed by some of their adherents in times little removed from the present.

More broadly still than by these developments in philosophical, ethical, and religious thought the altered spirit of the times is indicated by a certain temper on the part of many thinkers as they approach ultimate questions, of whatsoever sort these may be. If the problems attacked are philosophical there is a conviction abroad, though a number of schools continue exempt from its influence, that philosophy itself must not be too nice in endeavoring to proceed without assumptions, lest in the end it should find its vaunted completeness a simple repose *in vacuo*. With the sense of the importance of ethical questions has come the belief that, after all, abstract thought must find limitation in the postulates of practical life. In religion there is a movement favored by thinkers of widely divergent forms of belief, advocated, in fact, by some who hold that religion must be reduced to the narrowest limits as well as by the most flourishing school of contemporary theologians in Germany—the reference is to the followers of Ritschl—which finds the ultimate basis of religious conviction in faith. Now, this tendency is a phenome-

non of great significance to the student of the history of opinion. For it has been characteristic of many skeptical eras since the records of human thought began, and has often marked the beginning of the end, the point at which transition and change have overtaken the transitional era itself. Reappearing, then, at the present juncture, it suggests the query whether our own time has not almost reached its term. May not, there is a temptation to ask—may not the turn of the centuries coincide once more with the turning point of human progress? As, in the long transition from mediævalism to modern times, the German Reformation burst into a glow when the year 1500 was but scarcely past, may not the twentieth Christian century be ushered in by a new birth of positive thought?

The historian of opinion, however, is of necessity a cautious prophet; and when all the elements in the complex problem are taken into account he must be confident indeed who would predict an immediate solution. For there is one aspect of the case in which it may be said that we are contending with the accumulated difficulties of the whole modern period. There are fundamental questions, typical of the modern spirit, which, still awaiting their definitive answers, form not the least among the critical issues that this particular age has to face. The questions of naturalism and materialism, for instance, are no new outgrowth of the half century which has been marked by the discovery of the law of the conservation and correlation of energy and the promulgation of the principle of evolution in its modern forms, however much they may have been emphasized by these epoch-making results; but ever since the replacement of the scholastic metaphysics by the method of inductive inquiry, and since the early triumphs of modern science, the naturalistic view of the universe has been pressing hard upon the defenders of a spiritual philosophy and the Christian faith.

Beyond our inherited difficulties, moreover, there are others special to the age in which we live, or at least special in their present forms; and these have not yet been felt in their full force, or are not fully included in the reaction begun in other departments of thought. One of these is to be found in the extension of the methods of natural science to the study of mental life, and the conclusions to which investigations of this character are leading, especially on the side of the relations of

consciousness to the body and its physical environment. The present writer, indeed, has no sympathy with the attitude of those who would inconsistently brand such investigation and results as materialistic. In fact, crass materialism is nowadays not much in favor. Almost everyone who is entitled to speak on the subject rejects the identification of consciousness with any physical function whatsoever; and those who talk of the brain as self-sufficient, if scientists at all, are generally scientists of the popular sort. But there are two features of the situation calculated to give rise to critical problems. The first is empirical, the tendency to explain consciousness, though it be admittedly distinct from brain activity, by the laws of the latter. Sense perception, for example, may be analyzed as an integration of nervous stimulations rather than as a synthesis in consciousness; memory is held by the great majority of psychologists to be essentially conditioned by molecular inertia in the brain, while the laws of the association of ideas are interpreted as laws of cerebral, rather than of mental, dynamics; habit is action become organic in the nervous system; personality and character exhibit grave alterations under the influence of disease—in general, conscious phenomena are always dependent on cerebral phenomena, and the causal explanation which science demands, it may be argued, should be sought in the physical rather than in the psychical series. The second factor in the problem is that the newer researches suggest changes in our view of the nature of mind itself, or even doubt of its existence, as well as changes in our interpretation of the facts of mental life. This is particularly marked because the "new psychology" has been projected into, or rather has grown up in, an age already full of philosophical unrest. Great scientific discoveries our time has seen in numbers, and great systems of universal science. But these do not lighten the philosophical problem for the present; the rather do they add to its gravity, so that our psychological results become part of a great body of new truth, to be articulated into our general view of the world and of life at a time when the fundamental principles of such correlation are in flux. It is evident, therefore, that in any consideration of the intellectual forces now at work, and in any hopeful outlook toward the dawn of a new period of faith, the situation in psychology must be taken into account. Happily, so far the

new science has been fairly free from dogmatic controversies which would have hindered its vigorous development; but the conclusions which it reaches have important bearings, philosophical, ethical, and religious; and these will have to be faced before it will be possible to say that the work of the age is finished.

This view of psychology will meet dissent from some who foresee no such problems in the way. Few, however, will dispute the fact, if it be said that the social and sociological questions of the day constitute a second great issue which awaits its settlement. This is so patent that the atmosphere of our time is filled with the din of those who propound their remedies for the ills of the social organism. Here, therefore, attention need be called only to the truth that the prevailing discontent among the lower orders of society is an effect whose causes complexly intertwine with many of the other forces which have made the age a period of confusion. Thus the social problem becomes, as it were, a summary of the critical questions with which thought finds itself constrained to grapple. It would be unfair, for instance, to charge the scientific spirit, or any given system of philosophy, with the burden of socialistic or anarchistic theories, more unfair than it would have been a hundred years ago to make the philosophers responsible for the discontent among the people of France. Yet socialism has its philosophy, or at least its philosophical alliances, and these for the most part are not of the constructive or spiritual sort. The social unrest is notable, also, because it forms a link between opinion and life. For, although we may not look for a revolution like that which marked the end of the eighteenth century as about to form the close of the present age, no one now is ignorant that one of the sorest points in the body of our time is just this where negation impinges on the questions of the social order and the constitution of the State. And it will scarcely be doubted that the demands of the proletariat, from which these difficulties spring, are themselves a reflex of conditions of life that the age has established or taken over from the past.

The existence, then, of definite critical problems still unsolved is a grave difficulty for those who hold that the present skeptical age is approaching its close. A second objection, and

one which professed students of opinion must consider formidable, is the absence of any philosophical system showing promise of general acceptance in the near future. Naturalism, often with an agnostic preamble, is held by its adherents to be the legitimate, if not the satisfactory, outcome of the modern movement as a whole. But, to say no more, it is evident that as the forces of recoil gather head at all they tend directly toward the denial of the cogency and the sufficiency of naturalism as a solution of the world problem. The revived idealism, neo-Kantian or neo-Hegelian, which in the last two decades has gone forth from Oxford and Glasgow, and which now spreads itself over the whole English-speaking world, stands at the other extreme to naturalism, and like it claims to hold the key for all the riddles of thought. Or, rather, the new idealism goes far beyond naturalism, for its first principle is to oppose the agnosticism of the former by a defense of the possibility, or even the actuality, of a completed theory of the universe. But, without following Mr. Balfour in the scanty justice he has shown to the idealistic movement, and acknowledging the important service the school has done in withstanding agnostic and naturalistic theories, one still must doubt whether it is destined to furnish such a principiant explanation of the world as will bring our age to a conclusion. The deeper metaphysical issues involved lie outside the scope of this paper. But, apart from these, apart also from the weakness of the movement outside Britain and America, idealism of the revived type is open to the serious practical objection that it is not made "to be understanded of the people;" whereas the systems which it seeks most of all to combat have so entered into the thought of the time that the people at least believe that they quite comprehend them. Again, and less popularly, it has to face some of the same difficulties as those which confronted its prototypes and sources. It offers a spiritual, nay, "the spiritual," philosophy; but the world cannot forget that the movement which began with Kant and culminated in Hegel issued in the materialism of the left wing, as well as in the speculative theology of the conservative right. It offers a religion, "the absolute religion," but it may be said without dogmatic bias, and from the strictly historical standpoint, that the religion which it offers is at best a rationalized interpreta-

tion of Christianity; so that the common faith finds the new hope of escape conditioned on the necessity of a new transformation. Between these two extremes the desired system is still further to seek. There have been attempts, more than one, to mediate between the results of modern thinking and the demands of the ethical and the religious consciousness, that have exhibited a nobility of spirit on the part of their projectors and distinguished ability in the execution of the work, but there is no theory of this kind which promises a full or permanent answer to the questionings of the time. Outlooks of great value they have not failed to provide. A considerable number of the principles which they have advanced have proved of service in the present emergency, and some seem fitted to take their places in some more adequate synthesis than any yet announced. But it is impossible to believe that any one of them will prove to be the completed system which we need. And, among the philosophical theories which lie outside this classification, there is even less prospect of a successful issue to the search. Schopenhauer and Hartmann, for instance, have their numerous followers, especially in German lands. Yet the pessimistic solution of the universe would, in the opinion of most thinkers, be a remedy little less dolorous than the disease itself; even should it prove the ultimate outcome of our deepest thinking it contains elements sure to provoke many a crisis and many a reaction before the worn-out age could settle to its fate.

Doubt and skepticism, however, do not always require a new constructive system for their replacement. Often undogmatic in themselves, and dependent on practical as well as upon abstract conditions, they yield to forces which include no completed system of principiant thought. The mass, moreover, is incapable of appreciating abstract theory when it is at hand. Those higher in the scale, the so-called intelligent classes, for the most part do not, and cannot, bring their opinions to the test of metaphysical consistency. It is chiefly systematic thinkers by profession who look for systems of principles or try their conclusions by such; and many of these have learned that a perfect solution of the universe is a millennial hope rather than a present expectation. Hence it results that the transition from an age of negation to an age of belief may be

an organic, rather than a logical, change. It is found that the facts or laws which for a while appeared destructive of all earlier conclusions are susceptible of a different explanation. Revision of old doctrines, it begins to be said, may be necessary, but the essence of the matter remains unaltered. Thus, a few fundamental principles being discovered to continue true, or being believed so to continue, the rest are left to work themselves out while the age goes on its way with diminishing concern about that which before had caused it crucial anxiety. A capital example of this process is at hand in the varying attitude of opinion during the last thirty years with reference to the principle of biological evolution. At first friend and foe greeted it as destructive of religious belief. Theism, much more Christianity, was believed to be destroyed, if species developed, especially if man was descended in any part of his nature from some lower form of life. And there are still those who, on the one side or the other, believe in the incompatibility of the new science and the old faith. On the whole, however, we are far enough removed from the first shock of the controversy to perceive that, even for those who consider that Darwinism has made good its claims, religion may still endure. For before long discerning minds began to recognize and point out the fact that the dilemma was less exhaustive than had been supposed. These made attempts at reconciliation. They asserted and showed that the difficulties, to some extent, concerned processes rather than principles; that the substance of theism, for instance, was not altered, but rather the formulation of it, and of certain of the proofs therefor. We have even heard Christian voices proclaiming that the new scientific theory yields additional support instead of a fresh blow to theistic belief, and that the laws of development join the precepts of Christianity in culminating in the "royal law of love." Now, it is true that the importance of the questions at issue has sometimes in these later days been minimized or ignored; and there are relations of evolution to ethical and religious doctrine which still perplex those who try to hold both and to complete their reconciliation and adjustment. But it may safely be predicted that, in regard to this particular question, the future will not see the doubt and the dismay which so much disturbed the past.

One perplexing problem having thus lost its sting, remaining difficulties are likely to grow lighter in an analogous way. Men are weary of negative thought. Moreover, some of the outstanding questions of the time include factors which hint at the possibility of their own answers. The troubles of the body social are forcing men to renewed consideration of ethical principles; but it is quite as evident that social questions have their important religious bearings as that they involve moral issues. Shall it be said, then, that the social problem is likely to generate a reaction toward faith? Probably anyone who should to-day maintain the affirmative of this question would encounter much ironical criticism; yet, if all the elements in the situation be taken into account, the suggestion is far from being unfounded. For, while religion in its general aspects is involved in the issue, Christianity stands in a special relation to it. The cures for social ills which have been so loudly heralded by certain parties in the Church may indeed be of doubtful efficacy when tested by sober reason; but there is a striking kinship between the Christianity, doctrinal and applied, which is needed by the closing nineteenth century and that which proved so potent a force when the Christian religion was first fighting its way to recognition. There are few evidences of religion so convincing as religion in action, and so fast as Christianity proves itself able to grapple with the evils which beset society its renewed acceptance will be a direct corollary from the laws under which opinion normally develops.

The question whether this skeptical age is soon to end must receive a hesitant answer. There are signs, both theoretical and practical, that the self-contented negation of a decade or two ago is fast yielding its supremacy. Man's inborn hunger for positive truth is reasserting its power. But critical problems remain with which the age has scarcely begun to grapple. The absence of a dominant philosophical system forbids belief in an immediate complete solution from principle. As M. Brunetière says, philosophy and religion have reconquered part of their prestige; to term their victory complete would be to overstate facts and to offer doubtful aid for their further conflict.

A. C. Armstrong, Jr.

Art. VIII.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF PRAYER.

In the analysis of prayer the divine "how" is not clearly perceived by the ordinary mind. The Christian world was for a moment prostrated by what the Church was pleased to call the audacity of Professor Tyndall in proposing his remarkable prayer test. But it is due to him to remember that he did not misrepresent the creeds. His declaration was that, if it be true that "God preordained every fact and event of the universe, and these facts and events come to pass as thus arranged without possibility of change, answers to prayer are impossible, in the nature of things." It is a psychological truth that faith and prayer are alike impossible in a system of government where every event is the result of previous arrangement. It matters not whether this arrangement be of theistic or atheistic origin; there can be no place for the existence or exercise of prayer where every event is predetermined.

Prayer is based on the fact that there are alternatives with God and with man, and that in the act of prayer there are alternatives presented to the petitioner. Prayer implies the existence of an indefinite number of possibilities, any one of which may become a fact. As faith and prayer are both voluntary, fatalism and prayer are incompatible and cannot be harmonious parts of the same moral system. Prayer is an act that is only possible between two volitional beings. Therefore, if we assume that God directs every event by a stern decree of law or caprice that has no alternative, we must admit that Christians and materialists occupy the same platform; and it becomes apparent even to the thoughtless that in a system of government whose central idea is necessity there is no legitimate sphere for the exercise of prayer.

In the philosophical adjustment of this subject there are two principles involved. The first relates to the immutability of God. Can there be alternatives with him? Is immutability possible where contingencies exist? It appears to us that divine sovereignty is perfectly harmonious with moral agency. Citizenship and sovereignty are facts of relationship, rather than of strength. God is the sovereign; man is the subject of law which prescribes his relation to his sovereign and his fellow-

citizen, and determines the fact of his amenability. Mr. Watson says:

> The true immutability of God . . . consists, not in his adherence to his purposes, but in his never changing the principles of his administration; and he may therefore, in perfect accordance with his preordination of things and the immutability of his nature, purpose to do under certain conditions dependent on the free agency of man what he will not do under others; and for this reason, that an immutable adherence to the principles of a wise, just, and gracious government requires it.*

By the law of his own essential being God must always do right. He cannot by his acts violate the rules of his own kingdom nor mar the purity of his own personality. Therefore, when he proposes to execute any purpose on a nation or a man, a change in the conduct of that nation or man necessitates a corresponding change in the actions of God toward the party or a change in his principles and character; and because of the immutability of his character the change is made in his administration. This principle of the divine immutability is illustrated in the case of every penitent sinner who abandons his evil way and receives the pardon of his sins at the hands of a just God.

The second principle involves the scientific fact, so well established, that a natural law cannot be changed, reversed, or suspended in its operation. The laws of God are all irreversible; they are not the product of his will, but are coeternal with him and flow forth from him. We must therefore discover some way in which God can perform a miracle or answer prayer without reversing, suspending, or in any manner interrupting natural laws; or we must yield the case and admit that prayer cannot benefit humanity at all. Prayer and miracles involve the same philosophical principles. So we perceive that if God ever wrought a miracle he can on the same basis answer any prayer that comes within the limit of the divine promise.

A miracle is not wrought by reversing or suspending a law of nature; it is dependent upon the presence of a personal God possessing intelligence and power. The impersonal forces of the universe could not create the universe, nor can they perform miraculous feats. When God performs a miracle he does not act on the law. He operates on the body that is the object of the miraculous effort. He takes the object out of the control

* *Institutes*, vol. ii, p. 492.

of the law that governs it in its normal condition, and does with it what he will. When the young man of the Scripture let his ax fall into the river and it was miraculously made to swim there was neither reversal nor suspension of law. The water rolled on smoothly, the pebbles at the bottom of the stream remained undisturbed. Everything obeyed the behest of nature, but the invisible power of God brought the ax to the surface as the visible hand of the owner would have done if it had been within his power. The suspension of the law of gravitation, if it had been possible, would not have brought the ax to the surface. Law is helpless of itself. Inertia is a property of matter, and the iron would obey that law. The impersonal forces of nature could not move the ax; these forces always act according to law, but never administer the law, being subject to it. The suspension of a law, could this be accomplished, would precipitate systems and constellations into one general ruin and inaugurate a reign of terror in the physical world. Such a disaster is avoided by the continuous presence of the all-wise God, who is in no way trammeled or embarrassed by the laws of his own kingdom.

The God of Christianity is not an impersonal force, is not the sum total of all forces, but is the Almighty. He possesses intelligence, will, affections, dominion, everything in an infinite sense. When he created man he gave to him as the constituent parts of his being every attribute, quality, and element of the Godhead. Man possesses in a finite degree everything that the Father possesses in an infinite degree. Man is God's child, made in his own likeness and image. Prayer is God's method of communion with his children, the channel of his fellowship with humanity. We are not to think of him simply as a force or influence. If we grant the fact of the divine intelligent personality, and also concede that man is a being of God's own creation, prayer is the easiest and most natural method of communication between this God and his dependent children. But the varied forces of nature never become administrative agencies. In answering prayer God, as the intelligent administrator, takes hold of the object of prayer, whatever it may be, removes it from the control of the forces that govern it in its existing condition, and subjects it to the environment of other laws and the influence of other forces and conditions. Answers to prayer

therefore imply much more than the reflex action of the petitioner's desires on his own life, much more than the filling up of a space in a program prepared from all eternity. They are the compliance of the compassionate Father with the request of his helpless children. This compliance on the part of the Father may be in the realm of nature or of grace, but is always in harmony with law. It is generally instantaneous, wrought by the going forth of his divine power, as in Christ's healing the leper, giving sight to the blind, raising the widow's son, or giving health to the woman who touched the hem of his garment; or as in the pardon of a penitent sinner, the sanctification of a devout believer, or the bestowment of consolation on a stricken soul.

Because God's immutability and power must remain the same in all ages, and because the answer to prayer involves the same philosophical principle upon which miracles are wrought, it must be apparent that prayer always has been, and must ever remain, one of the most important factors in the government of the world.

William Jones

Art. IX.—THAT PSEUDO-JUDICIAL DECLARATION OF 1888—A FRIENDLY APPEAL TO CONSERVATIVE EXPERTS.

In 1888, as is well known, the "Committee of Seventeen" recommended the General Conference to adopt the resolution quoted below,* together with a resolution that a certain protest was "sustained by the Discipline." An increasing number of persons in the Church—persons occupying very diverse party standpoints—firmly believe that while the adoption of these resolutions, or of the entire original report of the committee, by the General Conference would have been an unqualified and perfectly legitimate and defensible judicial interpretation and declaration of the then existing law touching the eligibility of women, the adoption of the *amended* report, under all the parliamentary circumstances, was not such. Their reasons for this conscientious belief may be presented in barest outline as follows:

1. In order to the giving of a perfectly legitimate and defensible judicial interpretation of the law of a self-governing body in any particular instance at least a majority of the competent court must deliberately, and with definite intent, unite in the interpreting judgment authoritatively rendered.

2. In order that an interpreting judgment thus rendered may be made binding upon all the constituent members and subsequent lawmakers of such an organization it is necessary that they should be afforded the ordinary or else clear extraordinary evidence that in the manner above described a clear majority of the competent court did unite in the interpretation for which authority is claimed.†

3. The total number of General Conference members who voted for or against the undivided amended report was four hundred and thirty-five. It was made up of two classes:

A. Those who, considering the probable intentions of the Church in 1872, conscientiously held that without new legisla-

* "Under the constitution and laws of the Church as they now are women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference."

† The "ordinary evidence" in the case of the General Conference, acting in a judicial capacity, should of course be sought in the official record of the body; what would constitute "clear extraordinary evidence" it is not easy to state in terms that would be applicable to more than a single case.

tion in the form of a constitutional amendment women could not legally be chosen or admitted as lay delegates, and who by their affirmative vote intended to declare this conscientious judgment.

B. All others, whatever their views of the original report, or of the amendment, which proposed to "consult the Church," or of the desirableness or undesirableness of combining the two.

Of both these classes some voted in the affirmative and some in the negative, but how many on the one side or on the other no man knows or ever knew.

4. Now, if the vote had not been by orders, and *if it were known* that every one of the one hundred and fifty-nine ministers and every one of the seventy-eight laymen who voted for the amended report belonged to Class A, it might be argued, not with absolute but with considerable fairness, that, despite the unfortunate obscuration of the purely judicial question by the introduction of considerations for and against the proposed appeal to the Church, the final action adopted by a total majority of thirty-nine was probably *equivalent* to a valid judicial declaration.

5. On the other hand, *if it were known* that of those who voted for the amended report forty per cent belonged to Class A, while the other sixty per cent voted for it for one or the other of these reasons, to wit: (a) because they felt uninformed as to the intention of past legislation on the subject, and preferred to evade the responsibility of a personal vote by "consulting the Church generally;" or (b) because, while fully believing no new legislation necessary in order to the admission of women, they yet deemed it more conducive to peace and good will in the Church to accept the slower method of constitutional amendment, no reasonable person would claim that the adopted paper met the requirements above formulated as essential to the delivery of a legitimate and defensible judicial decision. Only forty per cent of such an affirmative vote would have a genuinely judicial quality and intent, and could in fairness count toward a binding judicial determination and declaration of the meaning of the existing law. Even if ninety per cent were from Class A they would manifestly fail to create even a probability of a judicial result unless their numerical aggregate exceeded the numerical aggregate of all the negative

votes added to the number included in the remaining ten per cent of the affirmative votes.

6. Applying, now, this reasonable and only reasonable principle of counting as judicial those votes only that had a judicial quality or intent—that is, those that *by intention of their givers* expressed a distinct and conscientious judgment touching the scope and intended meaning of *the existing law*—it is manifest that if even two of those laymen who voted for the amended report did not belong to Class A, but voted as they did for reasons "a" or "b" above, or for any other similar reason, the due subtraction of their two votes from the lay majority of two in favor of the so-called judicial declaration leaves the declaration itself without enough "judicial" votes for its adoption. The total paper is not defeated; the number voting for it and the number voting against it remain unchanged; but for an unqualified and perfectly legitimate and defensible "*judicial declaration of the existing law*" it has not vote senough that have the judicial quality.

7. Of the total number that actually voted for the amended report a generous proportion no doubt belonged to Class A, and their votes had a proper judicial quality and intent. But that seventy-seven out of the seventy-eight laymen that voted for the paper belonged to Class A is to all persons acquainted with the sentiments of the laity at the time extremely improbable. Even those who are foremost in claiming that a proper and valid judicial decision was given do not claim that all the affirmative votes, or that among the laity all but one, were given by persons belonging to Class A, or, on the other hand, that all the negative votes were given by members of Class B. One prominent defender of the action makes the majority to have consisted of at least two classes of persons, the minority of at least three, so making five classes in all, each class having its own distinct views and motives in voting.* How many

* Compare this statement from the *Christian Advocate* of September 13, 1894 (italics mine): "*Most* of the believers in the eligibility of women under the law voted against it [that is, the amended report]; *some* who did not believe in the eligibility of women under the law, and were wholly opposed to their ever becoming eligible, voted against the report after amendment, *because of the proposition to submit the change of the constitution to the Church*; and *for the same reason* some who could not decide for eligibility *voted for* the amended report." As an eminent judge has repeatedly pointed out, a vote on the wisdom of changing the law is one thing, while a vote on the meaning of the law as it reads is quite another. The result of the hybrid vote of 1888 was neither defensible interpretation nor legitimate legislation.

of the affirmative votes were expressive of strictly judicial judgment and intent is not known, and can never be known, and the same must be said of the negative votes. By tabling the fair-minded motion for a division of the amended report the General Conference rendered it forever impossible to determine how a vote on the judicial question alone would have fallen out. Under these circumstances, as the laity has neither the ordinary nor any clear extraordinary evidence that a majority of the persons who voted for the amended report indisputably belonged to Class A, and accordingly that they *intended* to unite in a strictly judicial declaration as to the true force and meaning of *the existing law*, it seems to many intelligent and conscientious people, irrespective of party preferences, that no one is legally or morally bound to defend the adopted paper as a regularly obtained and legitimate and binding judicial declaration. It also seems to them that any method of judicially interpreting the existing law of the Church *by the aid of votes given for other than judicial reasons* is self-evidently wrong.*

Calling now the foregoing paragraphs a preamble, let us add to it a form of declaration or subscription, as follows:

Despite the foregoing considerations, and all similar ones, we the undersigned hereby publicly affirm that in our deliberate judgment the peculiar method by which the legislative and the judicial portions of the amended report of 1888 *were made to stand or fall together, according to the issue of one and the same vote, was a legitimate and perfectly defensible method of judicial procedure—one safe, as a precedent, in any future case in which the true meaning of a constitutional provision may be in question.*

The above preamble and declaration were prepared many months ago. In view of the now renewed discussions and votings they are brought forth from the drawer for the purpose of testing the real sentiment of the most conservative of the recognized legal authorities in the Church touching a question of fundamental and abiding importance. The writer questions

* For a fuller consideration of the illegitimacy and of the perils of this method the reader is referred to an article in *Zion's Herald* of January 16, 1895, entitled "Let Us Turn the Case About—What Might Have Happened in 1880." The article also appeared at about the same date in the *Western Christian Advocate*, and in the *Northern*. It showed how, by the Neely amendment process, in a perfectly possible case, a majority of one more than one third of the General Conference with one more than one fourth of the Annual Conference members might overthrow a fundamental safeguard of the Church's constitution.

no brother's motives or judgment in any past action; he only desires to know whether he himself understands the unprecedented and double-headed action of 1888 aright, and whether others understand it aright. For the sake of ascertaining this the writer, in the most brotherly spirit, here respectfully and earnestly invites those who claim that in the action of 1888 a legitimate and defensible "judicial declaration" was given to find any three of our sixteen general superintendents, or any seven delegates who have ever been selected to serve on the Judiciary Committee of a General Conference—excepting those selected in 1892 *—who are willing to subscribe to the above declaration without qualification, and to permit it, with the preamble, to be printed with their signatures in any of the official periodicals of the Church. If within four weeks of the time of the publication of this communication the called-for subscribers shall be found, the present writer publicly promises to withdraw his teachings on this subject for careful reconsideration, and, if possible, for absolute retraction. If, on the other hand, the subscribers cannot be found, he will feel entitled to take the result as an abundant unpartisan vindication of the view expressed in the first title of the present article.

POSTSCRIPT, THREE MONTHS LATER.

From recent private correspondence with certain of my conservative friends I am led to believe that some of them hold that, while the parliamentary process by which the so-called judicial declaration of 1888 was secured was not defensible or safe, the result was a legally and morally binding interpretation of the law. To test the opinion of conservative experts with respect to this position, I here add a second public declaration, as follows:

The undersigned hereby publicly declare that in their deliberate judgment the General Conference of 1888 *rendered a legally and morally binding judicial decision touching the eligibility of women under the existing law, but by a parlia-*

* The reason for this exception is found in the well-known fact that in their unsuccessful report to the General Conference the members of the Judiciary Committee of 1892 precommitted themselves on the side of the above declaration, recording apparently a vote of fourteen to one against my view. The extraordinary strength of this vote places in a most striking light the superabundant fairness of the above proposals and the great confidence of their author in the soundness of his position.

mentary process indefensible in principle and unsafe as a precedent.

If any three of the bishops, or any seven of our Judiciary Committeemen who served before 1892, can be found who will sign and appropriately publish this latter declaration with the foregoing preamble I will at once gracefully retire from the arena of this debate and content myself as best I may with praying for the peace of Jerusalem and for the enlightenment of her future rulers.

William F. Warren.

Art. X.—THE REAL JUDICIAL DECLARATION OF 1888.

It may seem to be presumption in me to respond to President Warren's "friendly appeal to conservative experts." Moderately conservative I may claim to be, but an expert, by no means. Nevertheless, I may be able to answer the reasoning of the preceding article. I wish to do it in the sweet and kindly spirit which characterizes that. In order to find the right starting point it will be profitable to see, in brief, a little more clearly just what was the action of the General Conference of 1888 pertinent to the subject in hand.

Five women appeared at the bar of the Conference, presenting certificates of election as lay delegates, and claiming seats as such. A protest against their being seated was also presented. The question of their eligibility, with the protest, was referred to a select committee of seventeen, made exceptionally strong by its composition. After due deliberation the committee reported "that under the constitution and laws of the Church as they now are women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference," and as a consequence that the protest "is sustained by the Discipline." During the discussions the report was amended by adding the following: "But since there is great interest in this question, and since the Church generally should be consulted in regard to such an important matter, therefore, *Resolved*, That we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposition to amend the second restrictive rule by adding the words, 'and said delegates may be men or women,' after the words 'two lay delegates for an Annual Conference;' so that it will read, 'nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates may be men or women.'" When the report, as so amended, came up for action the debate was closed on behalf of the committee by Warner Miller, who was one of its members. Before the final vote a division of the question was moved, but the motion was laid upon the table. The report, as amended, was adopted by a majority of thirty-seven on the ministerial vote and of two on the lay vote.

Now, the substance of Dr. Warren's argument is that this final action was not a "legitimate and defensible" decision of a

question of law, for the reason that not all of the majority votes had what he calls the judicial quality. He does not put this on the ground that two things were united in the determining vote, one the decision of a constitutional question (which was judicial), and the other a proposition for a submission to the Annual Conferences of a proposed constitutional amendment (which was not judicial); for he admits that if it were known that everyone who voted for the amended report belonged to his Class A (those who conscientiously held that without constitutional amendment women could not be lay delegates), it might be argued with considerable fairness that "the final action adopted by a total majority of thirty-nine was probably equivalent to a valid judicial declaration." Indeed, it needs no admission from anyone to establish the fact that such would be the result.

But Dr. Warren's contention is that some of those who voted for the amended report did not conscientiously believe that women were ineligible "under the constitution and laws of the Church as they now are;" that is, they did not believe all that they voted; therefore their action had not the judicial quality and is not binding. His whole argument rests on this foundation. It is only needful, therefore, to examine this assumption of fact. It is not necessary to take down the superstructure piece by piece if the corner stone gives way.

Dr. Warren divides the majority into two classes: "A," those who hold that the first part of the final action (the original report) was correct, and "B," all others, whatever their views. This is certainly an original way of analyzing the action of either a judicial or a legislative body. I will undertake to say that no judicial decision of any court consisting of two or more members, or any act of any legislative body, could stand the test under such a process if you once give the objector a free hand and the use of an unrestrained imagination. All he need say is that the majority is composed of those who really believed what they voted and "all others," and that "no man knows or ever knew" what was the number of the "all others," and you have the sovereign annihilator of all legislative and judicial obstacles in the way of universal progress.

Logically, it makes no difference that the measure passed was twofold. That was only to the disadvantage of the com-

bined proposition. It is altogether likely, as Dr. Warren says, that some who believed in the law as declared disapproved of the appeal to the Church, and so voted with the minority. The amended report as adopted thus had a double load to carry, as it had to get votes in favor of both of two distinct propositions instead of one. It is perfectly legitimate to suppose that some voted with the minority on the ground above indicated, because it is in accordance with probabilities and with reason and conscience, and is consistent with their votes; but it is not legitimate to attribute to anyone voting either way an opinion directly contrary to what he expressed by his vote.

Dr. Warren gives us two canons of interpretation (his 1 and 2), apparently constructed for the occasion, but they seem to be fair, and at any rate will serve the present purpose. The reader is referred to them without full repetition here.

We are not at liberty to presume that any of the voters united in the interpreting judgment except deliberately and with definite intent. The occasion was a serious one; the discussion was earnest and exhaustive; every man was conscious that he was charged with a grave responsibility, and that he was acting under the eye of the whole Church. Never were men put more thoroughly upon the very mettle of their judgment and conscience. So much for the first rule.

And then, is not the judgment which was rendered made binding by the very kind of evidence provided by the second rule as sufficient? Is it not supported by "ordinary evidence," which, we are told, should of course be sought in the record of the official body? We have the record, and it shows that a "clear majority" (any majority is a *clear* majority) did unite in the interpretation. What other evidence could there be in the record?

And yet Dr. Warren, without a particle of proof, so far as appears, to support his speculation, proceeds to mystify himself by supposing, for fanciful reasons, that some unknown proportion of the voters were actuated by motives and beliefs at war with the declaration of their votes. He seems to take the case of the lay delegates as presenting the best vantage ground for his argument, probably because there was only a majority of two in the lay vote in favor of the report as adopted. He says: "But that seventy-seven out of the seventy-eight laymen that

voted for the paper belonged to Class A is to all persons acquainted with the sentiments of the laity at the time extremely improbable." Is a formal and solemn declaration of the General Conference, then, to be impeached by what any number of persons may think as to the sentiments of the laity? It would be as easy to say, and probably nearer the truth, that a vote of seventy-eight to seventy-six fell short of expressing the preponderance of lay sentiment in favor of the decision.

But it is utterly immaterial what the prevalent sentiment of the laity was; the only important thing in this discussion is, How was the lay vote in the Conference cast? Dr. Warren seems to suppose that there were probably at least two of the seventy-eight laymen who either "felt uninformed as to the intention of the past legislation on the subject, and preferred to evade the responsibility of a personal vote," or believed that "no new legislation was necessary in order to the admission of women," and yet for the sake of peace thought best to go through the slow method of constitutional amendment, and so voted that new legislation *was* necessary. Is it not apparent how perfectly gratuitous such an assumption is, besides being ever so uncharitable? Even if it were lawful to impeach the members of the court in this way it would still not disturb the force and verity of the judgment. The record speaks for itself; it is not ambiguous; it cannot be frittered away by gossip or surmise. But it ought to be said that, if any delegate confesses that he voted for a report the main and decisive part of which was against his belief, self-stultification would be the mildest term to apply to such an offense.

Our friend complains bitterly that the question was not divided. We have already seen how its not being divided would be likely to operate against the affirmative; but if those believing in the eligibility of women, as a bare proposition, or if those who favored a constitutional amendment had been in a majority either party could have ordered the division. All parties seem to agree that there were some members of the Conference (it is reasonably certain there was a considerable number of them) who desired to see women admitted to the General Conference but believed they were not eligible as the law stood. These might well desire to see a proposition for a constitutional amendment coupled with the decision, so that

while in their votes they might be loyal to their intellect, they might at the same time provide for the gratification of their wishes. They would naturally oppose a division of the question, and it would be "legitimate" for them to do so.

Other speculations might be indulged in which would be quite as probable as those of Dr. Warren, as, for instance, that some who desired the admission of women *at that time*, if they could obtain it, but also wished to provide for a change of the law, if necessary for that purpose, opposed the division of the question so as to force all those who supported the original report to also support the amendment. This may have been considered a fair parliamentary device. Whether it was so or not, our better way is to attribute no motives except such as are creditable. Let us believe that all the votes "by intention of their givers expressed a distinct and conscientious judgment touching the scope and intended meaning of the existing law." In that case it is admitted they would have the "judicial quality and intent." And we have no right to believe anything else. Perhaps no question was ever decided in a deliberative assembly with less admixture of unworthy or even doubtful motives. The members must have acted with a solemn sense of their responsibility to the great Head of the Church. What right, then, have objectors to say that any minister, or any layman, had not sufficient information or intelligence to form a well-defined opinion as to the state of the law as it then stood; or that he voted one way, or the other, because he had no such opinion; or that, having an opinion one way, he voted the other for the sake of peace? And yet it is substantially alleged that there were some liable to one or another of these charges. "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth; yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand."

And as an answer to the whole scheme of this attack let it be borne in mind that a decision *is* a decision, whether it be of an ecclesiastical or any other court; and it is none the less so because some subsidiary matter may be coupled with it. How would a party fare in a court of law if he should attempt to evade or overthrow a decision of the Supreme Court previously made, as not having the judicial quality, by showing that the court in connection with it recommended the legislature to con-

sider the expediency of repealing or amending the law under which the judgment was pronounced? Yet that is precisely the drift of the article which I am essaying to answer.

As a sort of supplement to the discussion Dr. Warren advertises two very remarkable proposals. Seriously as he takes his own arguments, it is hardly possible that he can be serious about these. By the first he declares in effect that unless, within four weeks, either three bishops or seven members among all of the judiciary committees of the General Conferences previous to that of 1892 shall sign a certificate that they consider the manner in which the subject was disposed of by the adoption of the amended report a legitimate and perfectly defensible method of judicial procedure he will take such failure as a vindication of his views. Of course he does not expect any such answer to his challenge, whatever may be the views of any, or all, of the persons included in the designation; but I think I can give him a fact which is equivalent to the statement he calls for. It is necessarily implied by the terms of the offer, that all the men who have been selected for those several judiciary committees would naturally be, and were, men of such weight and character that he will commit his case to any seven of them, as being equal to three bishops. Of course such men would not vote for any action which they did not consider "legitimate and perfectly defensible." Now, I point out the fact, from the record, that not only *seven* but *nine* of the thirteen members of the Judiciary Committee of 1888 voted for the report in question as adopted on its final passage, thus virtually vouching for its fairness.

The persistent efforts that have been made in various ways, and with great versatility of invention, to break the force of the decision of 1888, I must humbly submit, are all pernicious in their tendency. It was attempted to have the Conference of 1892 directly reverse that of 1888. Then we had the now discredited Hamilton plan the most illegitimate and indefensible of all contrivances; we have now, from a high quarter, a forced and artificial classification of votes, upon assumed and unwarrantable distinctions, for the purpose of impugning the record, which the same authority tells us is the ordinary evidence of legislative or judicial transactions.

The bent of these and of all attacks having the same object

in view is to break down the safeguards of constitutional law and of judicial authority, though by no means so intended by the authors and promoters. It will be found easy to inflict great if not irreparable injury upon the Church by seeking to accomplish results in any but a direct and straightforward way; much easier to inflict than to repair. No enemy from without could do us half the damage that we can do ourselves. A great observer of human events, as well as of human nature, has said:

> O, then beware!
> Those wounds heal ill that men do give themselves.

However our opinions may differ, we can surely all unite with Dr. Warren in the prayer that the Church may be guided to do those things which are wisest and best.

Art. XI.—REASON AND SENTIMENT AS FACTORS IN SOCIAL PROGRESS.

It is generally held by philologists that the word which in the Teutonic tongues designates the head of the animal kingdom is closely allied to a verbal root whose signification is "to think." Man is, therefore, the thinking being *par excellence* in the realm of animated nature. Whether this derivation be correct or not, and necessarily without reference to it, man is wont to assert for himself the proud preeminence of occupying the highest place among the creatures that inhabit the earth, and to claim that this position has been accorded to him, or that he has won it for himself, because he alone is the possessor of reason. It may be interesting, and it is certainly not without profit, from the practical point of view, to examine to what extent the history of the race, so far as it is fairly well authenticated, bears out the common belief that reason has been the prime factor, the chief motive power, in human progress. Such an examination will prove almost beyond a doubt that ideas, impulses generally irrational, tradition, interests real or imaginary, and national traits have played a far larger part in the records of the past, and are doing so still, than is generally believed. A saying attributed to Franklin, that there would be no advantage in being a reasonable creature if one could not find a reason for doing what he wants to, pointedly expresses the subordination of reason to other motives that impel men to action.

When a man makes up his mind to do a thing he can generally prove by a mental process to his own satisfaction that he ought to do it. Let us take the burning social problem of the day and see how far the influence of reason has been effective in dealing with it. We mean the drink problem. The advocates of temperance have nearly all the reasons on their side; their opponents have everything else, including the appetites of those who drink and the avarice of those who sell. The intelligent class among all European peoples are on the side of temperance. Writers and speakers are warning their countrymen against the dangers of alcoholism. They are demonstrating from day to day that more than one half the evils that afflict

the body politic are due to drink. They point to the uncontradicted testimony furnished by the records of poverty, crime, and wretchedness as evidence of the reasonableness of their teaching. Yet how little has been accomplished, how few drunkards have been reclaimed, by argument! Often the very men who are firmly convinced of the danger of meddling with strong drink—and who is not?—are unable to resist an appetite when once strengthened by indulgence. The inefficacy of reason to stand against the desire for drink has been so fully demonstrated that it has largely changed the methods by which the demon of alcoholism is to be combated. Instead of arguments addressed to reason, training is applied for the formation of right habits. Prophylactic agencies are brought to bear upon the child while in the plastic state; and, though the reasoning powers are yet weak, this has been found to be the more effective, and indeed the only generally effective, preventive of drunkenness. We have no desire here to enter into a discussion of the temperance question, and have only touched upon it because it illustrates in a striking way, and by examples familiar to all, the subordinate position of reason in directing human affairs.

Among the uncomplimentary remarks made by Schopenhauer about men there is more truth in the following than most of us like to admit:

> Brainless pates are the rule, fairly furnished ones the exception, the brilliantly endowed very rare, genius a *portentum*. How otherwise could we account for the fact that out of upward of eight hundred millions of existing human beings, and after the chronicled experience of six thousand years, so much should still remain to discover, to think out, and to be said? By far the greater part of humanity are wholly inaccessible to purely intellectual enjoyments. They are quite incapable of the delight that exists in ideas as such, everything standing in a certain relation to their own individual will, in other words, to themselves and their own affairs. In order to interest them it is necessary that their wills should be acted upon, no matter in how remote a degree.

The material of which reformers is made is furnished by nature in such small quantities that none of it gets into the great mass of mankind. They are pretty well content with the world as it is, and expend far more thought in making themselves as comfortable in it as may be than in making it better. "We must take the world as it is," or "Why should

we concern ourselves with the doings of our neighbors so long as they do not directly interfere with our own?" has always been the conscious or unconscious creed of a large majority of the human race. The researches of anthropologists and historians have thus far failed to discover any evidence of the existence of human beings upon earth who were intellectually inferior to those now living. In so far as there has been or is any inferiority it is quantitative rather than qualitative. The most abject races can be civilized in a generation or two when placed under proper conditions. No new faculties need to be created; it is only necessary to develop those already existing. Yet human progress is a comparatively recent thing. But faint traces of it are discoverable until the advent of the Greeks. Egypt and Babylon appear to us, at the other end of the vista of historical perspective, about as we find them two or three thousand years later. This could hardly have been possible if reason had been a force in ancient society. In so far as it was, it can only have been the reason of the modern Turk, who finds the idea of progress utterly repugnant to him and who is content to be what his father was before him. If progress is founded upon reason, and not upon race characteristics, it is impossible to explain the wide differences that exist among the inhabitants of the globe.

There is no question affecting the relation of man to man upon which the civilized world is at present more nearly agreed than that slavery is wrong. So deep-seated has this feeling become that the foremost nations of our time have not only ceased to tolerate it among themselves, but have undertaken to extirpate it from the face of the earth. While we may question to some extent the disinterestedness of the motives of some of those who engage in its suppression, there is no doubt that they have a strong public sentiment back of them. How glaring is the contrast of public opinion to-day upon this question with that of antiquity! No intelligent man will assert that in the power of thought, in the ability to reason, the world has advanced one iota in two thousand years. It is universally conceded that no greater men ever lived than Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. These men, to say nothing of many others, seemed to have divined by a sort of superhuman prescience almost all the lines of human progress for all time to come. Yet how

little they have to say upon slavery, except to recognize it as an existing institution! Aristotle even enters into an elaborate discussion to show that servitude is the natural state of a part of the human race. Might has always made slaves. Even slaves found nothing reprehensible in the practice and submitted calmly to their condition, though they now and then rebelled against oppression. Those who had themselves been slaves never hesitated to enthrall others when by a turn of fortune they found the power in their hands. Not many years have passed since it was a common thing to defend slavery, and even the pulpit took a share in this defense. We were frequently told that it was ordained by God himself; that its abuse was no reason for its abolition; that it would be just as reasonable to turn all children over to the care of the state because some parents maltreated or neglected their offspring. Dean Alford, writing in 1864, expressed his contempt for the American people for several reasons, and among others for their "reckless and fruitless maintenance of the most cruel and unprincipled war in the history of the world." This dignitary of the Church uttered not only his own sentiments, but that of the entire aristocratic class in England, to which the Anglican Church professes to belong. How delusive the progress of the last score of years has proved the learned dean's reasoning to have been! How few persons can be found to-day who defend slavery! England itself abolished slavery, not because it was more unreasonable in the nineteenth century than in the eighteenth, but because the growth of the altruistic sentiment among the English people would no longer tolerate it.

It is doubtful whether in the last analysis war is ever a reasonable procedure. Under certain conditions a people may be justified in taking up arms. When a government becomes so tyrannical that its subjects can endure its domination no longer there is sometimes no recourse but rebellion. But not many of the wars that have drenched the earth with blood have been of this sort. Generally they are born of the lust of conquest or of the desire to uphold that peculiar sentiment, national honor. Many wars have been undertaken from a religious motive, and these have usually been the most relentless; yet the superiority of one religion over another is the last question that can reasonably be settled with the sword.

Hardly different is the case when national honor is involved. Take, for instance, the Franco-Prussian war. The French people held that their nation was insulted in the person of their ambassador. All knew that this was a mere pretext for engaging in a conflict that had already been determined upon. Two individuals who happen to have a dispute can usually settle their differences by referring them to a third party, especially if force in the guise of law is behind the arbitrator. It is generally found that one or the other party is in the wrong, or it may be both. In the nature of the case a national dispute might be decided in the same way. But it is rarely done. It must be decided in a way that always proves costly to both parties and terribly costly to one of them. Reason and experience have proclaimed their lessons, for the most part in vain. In spite of our boasted progress there is a painful amount of truth in the recent words of a congressman: "Nineteen hundred years have passed since the advent of the Man of Nazareth, and instead of growing nearer and more near to the universal era of peace all the energies, all the inventive talent, all the genius of the human mind are now devoted to the manufacture and construction and suggestion of implements of war more horrible, more fatal in the power of execution, than any which the world has heretofore seen." The intellectual preeminence of the Athenian people is well known. But how did they use their intelligence? Was it employed to promote the welfare of one another? It was rather used to defend the institution to which they had fallen heir by no effort of their own. Far more thought and labor were expended in trying to injure one another than in the work of promoting their own welfare or that of their neighbors.

There is probably no sentiment that dwells permanently in the human breast, and is hardly ever absent from any member of the race, for which so little can be said on the ground of reason as the love of early scenes. Tacitus failed to see how anyone could endure to live in such a country as Germany, unless it were his native land. But affection for home and familiar surroundings is hardly ever effaced, no matter how unpleasant they may have been, and how far subsequent prosperity has removed one from them. Early habits leave such an abiding impress on us that we review the familiar scenes

with a certain degree of pleasure, even when this is not untinged with sadness. The Irish peasant never forgets the land of his birth, though his recollections are wholly of abject poverty, of squalor and half-satisfied hunger; and he is ready at all times to take up arms against the government that he holds responsible for his woes. The German seeks to transplant his native customs to every land that hospitably receives him, and to make his new home in many respects as much like the land of his birth as he can. The Scandinavian from the far North, a land almost unendurable to those accustomed to warmer regions, is never so happy as when he is permitted to return to his early haunts and to live over again the familiar scenes of his youth. There is no explanation of this curious psychological fact except that we feel a certain pleasure in doing over again that to which we have been accustomed, though at first it may have been unpleasant and even painful. Men are prone to run in grooves. It is hard to get those who have not been trained for it to do some new thing, to entertain new thoughts, to strike out new paths. Much easier is it to accept a tradition than to examine its trustworthiness. There is no harder work than thinking; and it is a kind of labor to which the common man is much averse. No wonder that he finds pleasure in doing and believing what has become familiar and easy. No wonder that early habits and beliefs have such a powerful hold on most of mankind that they are ready to fight and even lay down their lives to preserve them. And what shall we say of the influence of chivalry upon the history of the world, using the term in an ethical rather than an historical sense? It is almost the sole secular motive that lights up the dark wilderness of mediæval history. "Order, veracity, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and mildness of manners, the protection of the weak and the innocent, and the punishment of wrong" were the motives that gave it birth and nourished it into full-grown maturity.

From the mythical age of Hæmon and Antigone to the day of the contemporary novelist and poet affection between persons of the opposite sex has been a powerful incentive to human action. The fact that it plays so large a part in the literature of fiction is but the proof that the shadow furnishes of a substance not far away. What deeds of prowess and daring has it not inspired and carried to successful issue! It is true

that its reign has not been one of unmixed good. From the courts of emperors and kings to the home of the peasant it has exerted its baleful or benevolent influence. We are not here concerned with the purity of the motive, but with its strength. No one who takes time to reflect can doubt that the devotion of the lover to his lady, or of the lady to her lord, has been one of the most powerful factors in the development of the race. Whether it has been the ephemeral passion, whose fierce flames burned out the fuel upon which it fed in the brief space of a day, or the conjugal fidelity as abiding as life itself, its potency none will dispute. Often the source of its inspiration, as in the case of Lady Macbeth, was demoniacal rather than divine. Yet it was none the less potent as the arbiter of the destinies of individuals and of nations.

Perhaps no fact in what we may call ethnological psychology is more potent than the constitutional inability of any nation to form a just estimate of itself. And this weakness increases, if such an expression be admissible, with the rank and intelligence of those who exhibit it. No reader, except a native, will rely upon the history of any country written by a native historian. In nine cases out of ten, wherever there is in the narrative an opportunity for the display of national bias we are sure to find it. That France marches at the head of civilization is an assertion one would endeavor in vain to refute in debate with a Frenchman. In their opinion they have never had occasion to go abroad for anything that was desirable. Yet it is an accepted fact that the French people know less of other countries than almost any people of Europe. Another typical case is afforded by recent histories of Germany. The success of the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war has turned the heads of almost the entire people; and the German historians frequently talk of their fellow-countrymen as if they belonged to some higher order of beings and had always so belonged. This, too, in spite of the fact that German literature, from the close of the Reformation almost to the time of the French Revolution, is hardly more than a blank; while for a still longer period the German people, oppressed at home and despised abroad, were of no political consequence whatever. Difficult is it to get material for self-glorification out of German history. But national prejudice has abundantly demonstrated its power

to accomplish this feat. As few persons have access to original records, the great majority see facts only at long range and through the distorted medium of national vanity or prejudice, or both, with results that may be and often have been painful enough. It is sad indeed that so few persons can be led to see that truth alone makes free. Zeus is represented in a passage of the "Odyssey" as saying: "Lo, how men blame the gods! From us, they say, spring troubles. Yet of their own perversity, beyond what is their due, they meet with sorrow." It is evident that Homer's chief god was a careful observer. His sagacious remarks were not only history, but prophecy also.

In one of his lectures Professor Giesebrecht used the following language: "The sovereignty belongs to Germany because the Germans are an *élite* nation, a noble race; and for the same reason it ought to exercise an influence on its neighbors that it is the right and duty of every man endowed with superior intelligence and force to act upon those individuals less highly endowed about him." How an honest man who knows the history of Germany can give utterance to such sentiments exceeds belief. Sometimes poor mortals who have lost their reason imagine themselves to be God. Such persons are usually confined in asylums, where they can harm neither themselves nor others. But in Germany we find men in professors' chairs, and even wearing titles of nobility, telling their countrymen that they belong to a race of demigods, the speakers included, and are charged with the mission of enlightening their neighbors. This would be amusing if it were not likely to lead to grave consequences. Everyone who has associated with those Prussians who give tone to public opinion knows that they are haughty and overbearing, and are always ready to make their superiority felt by the same methods that won for the lion the title of king of beasts.

In France the case is not greatly otherwise. Their pride has been humiliated in the loss of two provinces to a nation they have been taught to despise. Yet what can it matter to the people of Alsace-Lorraine who governs them, provided they are well governed and permitted to possess their property in peace? Their attachment to France is all the more ridiculous for the reason that they are radically German. Here, again, we see the inability of reason to make progress against a

mere sentiment. Many a brave Frenchman has laid down his life for the delusive phantom *la gloire*, and to what purpose? Taine, speaking only of the Napoleonic era, says:

> According to him [Napoleon] man is held through his egoistic passions, fear, cupidity, sensuality, self-esteem, and emulation; these are the mainsprings when he is not under excitement, when he reasons. Moreover, it is not difficult to turn the brain of man, for he is imaginative, credulous, and subject to being carried away; stimulate his pride or vanity, provide him with an extreme and false opinion of himself and his fellow-men, and you can start him off head downward whenever you please.

The results of proceeding upon this policy are thus summed up by the learned writer:

> Between 1804 and 1815 he has had slaughtered more than 1,700,000 men born within the ancient boundaries of France, to which must be added probably 2,000,000 of men born out of these limits, and all for him, under the title of allies, or slain on his account, under the title of enemies. All that the poor, enthusiastic, and credulous Gauls have gained by confiding their public welfare to him is two invasions; all that he bequeaths to them as a reward for their devotion, after this prodigious waste of their blood and the blood of others, is a France shorn of fifteen departments acquired by the republic, deprived of Savoy, the left bank of the Rhine, and of Belgium—losing 4,000,000 of new Frenchmen which it had assimilated after many years of life in common, and, worse still, thrown back within the frontiers of 1789, alone diminished in the midst of its aggrandized neighbors, suspected by all Europe, and lastingly surrounded by a threatening circle of distrust and rancor.

A few years before the French people, for an idea which they expressed in the trinitarian formula, "Liberty, equality, fraternity," destroyed every man and every institution that seemed to stand in the way of a practical realization of the creed it embodied. Yet hardly a decade had passed before they were ready to follow implicitly the most uncompromising tyrant that ever deluded a people. The desire to be free from oppression is eminently reasonable; but what can we say of a people who had just broken the yoke of bondage that had so long and heavily lain upon their own necks and yet tried to fasten a new one upon their neighbors as well as upon themselves? No wonder Napoleon had a poor opinion of men when he saw how easily they could be led *en masse* into crime and misery.

During the past few years we have heard much about the so-called Monroe doctrine. In definition it apparently amounts to

about this: when any government administered in Europe interferes in the affairs of any country on the western hemisphere, except in the case of its own possessions, the people of the United States are to regard such interference as a direct menace against them. Yet the territory virtually owned by Great Britain on the western continent, to say nothing of other European governments, is probably equal in extent to the Union, and England may therefore reasonably be supposed to have an equal interest here with ourselves. Nor is there any doubt that the Spanish American States, if they were administered by an enlightened people like the English, in spite of their shortcomings, would enjoy peace and prosperity such as they have never known. We have assumed that the attitude of a monarchy toward a republic is always that of an oppressor, and without always inquiring into the facts in the case. Again, there is now a strong feeling of sympathy for the Cubans in their struggle to free themselves from the yoke of Spain. This feeling is evidently strongest in those States that fifty years ago led the United States into a most unjust war with Mexico and a few years later plunged the country into civil war to keep the chains of slavery on four millions of human beings—a far worse state than that of the Cubans under the government of Spain.

The fundamental activity of the soldier is expressed by the poet in the lines,

> Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do or die.

The soldier is not to inquire for a reason; he has but to do what he is ordered to do. He is usually a young man; not so young that his reasoning powers are undeveloped, but yet so young that his energy is prone to find expression in action rather than in deliberation. War needs not only men who are physically strong, but men who can be depended upon to subordinate their reasoning powers to the word of command. Whether the command be a reasonable one does not enter into the problem. The best soldier is not he who looks at war in a large way, and who is capable of understanding the cause for which he is to lay down his life; but it is he who is best able to use the means within his reach to accomplish the ends placed before him by those in authority over him. It is a question whether intelligence is so important a factor as is generally believed. No coun-

try has been so uniformly successful in war as Russia, because no armies fight more bravely than the Russian. The Russian peasant, crassly ignorant as he has always been and is, never hesitates to lay down his life for his emperor, if the latter wills it. Apparently he has never concerned himself about the reason why. Yet what astonishing results have rewarded his prowess! While he cannot frame into words the Horatian *dictum*, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori," he does more—he is the living exponent of it. Public sentiment finds ten heroes on the battlefield to one in civil life. That foolhardy bravery is often displayed and life lost in unwise and foolish conflict makes little difference. The world is interested directly in the act, and looks no farther. Physical courage is still rated far higher than moral courage; if it were not so the world would to-day present a far different aspect from that which we see.

From the consideration of mere personal bravery the transition is easy to the contemplation of patriotism. Here is a sentiment that is as universal as man himself. Every man, no matter how low in the scale of civilization, feels a certain degree of affection for the land of his birth; it is an affection akin to that which he feels for himself. But patriotism is an idea that, *per se*, will not for a moment stand the test of reason. The patriot is not necessarily better or worse than the man whose motto is, "Ubi bene, ibi patria." The Fuegian loves his country just as fervently as Gladstone or Bismarck. If the former were compelled to change place with either of the latter both would be equally unhappy. The one would protest as loudly against the efforts to elevate him as the latter to degenerate him.

Patriotism is not necessarily unreasonable, but it is always unreasoning. A man may be able to give a good account for the faith that is in him, and he may not. Lessing wrote, "Of love of country I have no conception; it appears to me but a heroic weakness which I am right glad to be without." Goethe was frequently blamed for his lack of patriotism. And, in truth, there is little in his writings that exhibits a distinctive German feeling, and there was equally little in his life. Plato, a coryphæus among philosophers, is singularly free from national bias. When the historian Polybius made a study of the history of Rome he found that its steady growth was not an accident. Though a foreigner he could see that its government was

stable from the absence of the forces that made the government of his own people unstable. The Romans had instinctively put into effect those principles which the Greek philosophers had for centuries preached in vain to their own countrymen. The Romans were no philosophers, and despised philosophy. But they had the instinct of government, and rarely followed this instinct to their own detriment. Practical wisdom does not come through knowledge, often not even through experience. It may serve men who think, but this class is generally too small to make its impress permanently felt in the growth of States. Frederick the Great is reported to have said that, if he wanted to ruin one of his fairest provinces, he need only place it under the government of the philosophers. Akin to this is his remark that "one pinch of common sense is worth a university full of learning." Perhaps he had in mind the scholastic pedantry of his day that had its seat in the German universities, rather than the wholesome thinking that men may do if they have the proper incentives. It is true Plato thought that unless philosophers became kings, or kings philosophers, there would be no cessation of calamities among men; but he probably found few persons to agree with him. Fortunately or unfortunately, there is hardly any point upon which philosophers, the professed lovers of wisdom, are agreed among themselves. This is specially true where national prejudices come into play. But even among men of the same nationality there are often the bitterest animosities. Truth is not an abstraction. Those who are engaged in search for what they believe to be the truth are men with passions like ordinary mortals, and as likely to be blinded by them. Here, then, we find the same difference as to what is reasonable, sentiment again overmastering reason. Reason is artificial, deliberate, skeptical. Its function in human affairs is to regulate and control, not to supply a motive force. It decides how to do, rather than what to do. Only in a restricted sense can it be said that intelligence rules the world. We believe the author of *Social Evolution* has stated a truth of far wider application than he makes of it when he says:

> It has to be confessed that in England during the nineteenth century the educated classes, in almost all the great political changes that have been effected, have taken the side of the party afterward admitted to have

been in the wrong—they have almost invariably opposed at the time the measures they have subsequently come to defend and justify. This is to be noticed alike of measures which have extended education, which have emancipated trade, which have extended the franchise. The educated classes have even, it must be confessed, opposed measures which have tended to secure religious freedom and to abolish slavery. The motive force behind the long list of progressive measures carried during this period has in scarcely any appreciable measure come from the educated classes; it has come almost exclusively from the middle and lower classes, who have in turn acted, not under the stimulus of intellectual motives, but under the influence of their altruistic feelings.*

Progress needs a motive force, and this reason does not provide. The most powerful emotion that moves men partakes more or less of a religious character. It is everywhere in the foreground in the Babylonian and Assyrian wars. It played an important part in the struggle of Greek with Greek, or of Greek with barbarian. A Roman army was invincible only when it was confident that it went into battle with the favor of the gods. The religious idea carried the victorious armies of the Saracens over a large portion of the known earth in an incredibly short time. It is not necessary to enumerate any farther; everyone can recall the course of events for himself. Christianity itself does not appeal primarily to the reason. Its Founder taught "as one having authority, and not as the scribes." His precepts are not usually supported by what men call reasons, nor are they arrived at by processes of ratiocination. Their truth is intended to be spiritually apprehended, not to be worked out by the rules of logic. Herein lies their strength and their universal applicability. They are intended for those who can feel, as well as for those who can reason. And how large the preponderance of the former over the latter!

If we have read the history of philosophy aright it takes singularly little interest in the emotional nature of man. The ancients, indeed, make a great account of the passions, but they generally regard them as a sort of disturbing element in the economy of society. Modern philosophy, beginning with Descartes and ending with Kant, seems to regard man's emotional nature as a matter of little consequence; as a sort of penumbra of the reasoning powers. With the advent of Rous-

* *Social Evolution*, p. 253.

seau a different state of affairs began to prevail. Rousseau himself was not much of a philosopher, because he lacked system in everything he did. But he was full of fruitful ideas, and he came at a time when the world was ready to listen to what he had to say. In his mental make-up the emotional element largely predominated; he was so much a creature of impulse that there is nothing surprising in the extent to which he moved the world. The world had come to recognize that, while reason must not be ignored in the instruction of youth, it cannot be wholly depended on as a guide. Modern pedagogy lays large stress on training, on giving direction to the young citizen or the young Christian before he is old enough to reason much about it. It seeks to cultivate his sympathies for the needs of society before the selfishness that he is destined to find all around him in later life gains the mastery over him. He is taught that the poor and degraded have a claim upon his charity, although this charity is to be kept under the control of reason. He may not let the slave or beggar perish from neglect, even though both are largely responsible for their condition. It is sympathy, not reason, that is the moving force in the philanthropic spirit that we see manifesting itself so powerfully wherever man has any claim to be called civilized. Examples are numerous and ready to hand everywhere. Surely nothing can be more reasonable than the doctrine that every man is inherently as good as another; yet how slow the world has been in recognizing this self-evident truth, even in theory! Christianity first enunciated it, but even Christianity was not able to bear up permanently against the tide of sentiment and tradition that bore down upon it. The early Christians themselves were slow to accept the doctrine, with all the consequences that seemed likely to flow from it. Even to-day it is far more a matter of theory than of actual practice, so slowly does the world outgrow its prejudices.

The spiritual nature of man, that prescience of God's plan in the government of the world, that sublime faith in the ultimate triumph of right which we often see manifested in highly endowed natures, is in no wise amenable to the laws of reason. We see this exhibited in the most marked degree in the Hebrew prophets. Their lofty faith in the coming of a

Messiah who should rule the world in righteousness was a trait of a highly endowed spiritual nature. The intellect colored its outward expression, and to some extent modified its form, but was not its source. Many of the world's greatest benefactors —in truth, the large majority of them—have not been men of preeminent intellectual endowment. They were men whose emotional nature was stirred by the wickedness, the spiritual darkness, around them, and whose will was aroused to activity by a contemplation of the situation in which they found themselves. Kant said there is but one good thing in the world, and that is a good will. But the emotional nature seems to be more clearly related to the will than to the intellect, and to be more readily influenced by it. The result is that progress, in the best sense of the word, is not primarily intellectual. Its various phases do not, in the main, originate with the intellectual class, though men of large intellectual endowments often identify themselves with it. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that by stimulating and cultivating the intellect we can make the world better. Knowledge is not even power, as we are so often told. It is, indeed, an indispensable prerequisite to power; but power is latent unless stimulated into activity by the will. They are sadly mistaken who imagine that nothing is necessary to insure the continuous amelioration of the condition of mankind but a continuous increase of the world's stock of available knowledge.

Chas. W. Super.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

In the "Arena" of this number Dr. James Mudge makes friendly answer to the critics of his book, *Growth in Holiness toward Perfection; or, Progressive Sanctification*, and endeavors to correct certain misapprehensions. He is allowed space equal to that occupied in our last number by Dr. Lowrey's criticism, to which especially he replies. We earnestly invite contributions to our "Arena," but no communication for it should exceed one thousand words.

Without lowering the dignity which has belonged to the *Review* in its best estate, without incurring any risk of having it classified with light literature, without transforming it into a mere family magazine, without neglecting in the least the biblical, theological, or philosophical, we believe we may promote the advantage and the pleasure of our readers by adding to the range and variety of its contents, in lines profitable to ministerial culture, and especially by giving it in every number, if possible, some distinct literary interest and value. For this course, if it were criticised, a very strong defense might easily be made. Some such policy of extension and enrichment must be pursued by the editor, who recognizes his responsibility to continue that progressive development which has marked the seventy-seven years of the *Methodist Review*.

About twenty years ago a book written by Dr. J. T. Crane, of the Newark Conference, was issued by our Book Concern, regarding which Dr. Whedon wrote in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* as follows:

> Had we been privileged to peruse Dr. Crane's *brochure*, *Holiness the Birthright of all God's Children*, before its publication, we should doubtless have endeavored to convince him that there is no such difference in his views as to require him to place them in so frank an antagonism to Mr. Wesley's. . . . Mr. Wesley and Dr. Crane agree that, at justification, there is conferred a degree of "power" over sin and against temptation. Both would agree that according to the degree of that "power" is the degree of sanctification. Indeed, we think one of the best definitions of sanctification is: *The power, through divine grace, more or less com-*

plete, and more or less permanent, so to resist temptation and avoid sin as to live in the fullness of divine favor. Where the correlation between the inner state of the soul is such that there is no power to avoid sinning, "and that continually," the depravity is entire. Where, *secondly*, there is power through grace, by faith, largely but partially and precariously to avoid sin, with usually but a dim sense of divine approval, then we should by parity infer that the pravity was not entire but partial. If it were the case of one who had been previously in the *entirely* depraved state, we should imagine that it was a trace of that previous entire state. And viewing this to be about the condition of the ordinary justified person, we look upon this deficit of his spiritual power as a remains of his previous entire inability. Where, *thirdly*, the power is such as to enable one, with the exertion of unremittent care and energy, to maintain, with a clear and regular continuity, the avoidance of such sin as diminishes the light of God's smile upon us, we might with trembling trust call that entire sanctification. Where, *fourthly*, such is the correlation between the soul and temptation that the avoidance of sin is a matter of perfect normal and natural ease, and may be rationally predicted as forever and absolutely permanent (even though there is a free power for sin, and though sin be most abnormally the actual result), there is clearly no depravity. And this is Adamic perfection. But it is quite irrelevant to quote Adam and Eve before the fall to illustrate either of the previous cases. *Finally*, where the soul is entirely removed from the sphere of sin, perfectly filled with God, and framed within a body incapable of sin, so that sin becomes impossible, the holiness is finitely absolute. This last stage of complete indefeasible bliss will be at the resurrection. It is that glorious day to which St. Paul, earnestly looking, beholds the whole creation groaning for the manifestation of *the sons of God.* Regeneration is, indeed, truly a specific term in theology, and yet it comes under the grand genus of the final renovation. Then, for the first moment, the impairment we, one and all, have derived from Adam and sin, shall be completely repaired. Hence, our regeneration here, as individuals, is but initial, as part of the entire regeneration completed at the resurrection. Let us not be impatient because God is so slow as to leave an imperfect "residue" within us. "God is patient, because God is eternal." . . .

Sanctification is, perhaps, less the taking away anything from our inward nature than the bestowment of a repressive power over our inward sinward tendencies. . . .'

Our definition of entire sanctification being questioned with a challenge to compare it with that of Wesley, we will place them side by side. We are sure the reader will discern their oneness of ultimate essence under a variety of forms:

Our Definition.	*Wesley's Definition.*
Such a measure of Power over sin as holds us with more or less of continuity in that same perfect fullness of divine approbation as rested upon us when justification first pronounced us through Christ perfectly innocent of sin.	Sanctification in the proper sense is an instantaneous deliverance from all sin, and includes an instantaneous Power, then given, always to cleave to God.

Both these definitions make the sanctified state consist of two things: *First*, "deliverance from sin" (by perfect justification at first); *second*, "power," namely, to maintain that perfect "deliverance from sin." Both definitions make the sancti-

tication proper consist in "POWER." Wesley says, "power always to cleave to God;" ours says, "power to avoid sin, so far as to retain the perfect divine approbation." Both express the same "power;" ours completely and fully, Wesley's briefly, and rather crudely for a definition. Even the merely regenerate man has "power to cleave to God." Nay, an unregenerate Theist does, as against Atheism, exert "power to cleave to God." Wesley's words are, therefore, inexplicit and inadequate, not completely expressing his own meaning. Taking, now, the previous point: Wesley says "deliverance from sin" (that is, the guilt of sin, by justification); ours, too, makes the justification from sin the starting and measuring points. Both are, in brief, justification for past sin and power over and against future sin. Both imply that the complete justification at first, maintained by the divinely accepted avoidance in the future, is *holiness*.

POE'S "EUREKA" AND ADDENDA.

FOR several years a revival of interest in the singular genius of Edgar Allan Poe and its strange products has been noticeable both in America and Europe, particularly in France. For the purpose of obtaining money to start a monthly magazine which he was ambitious to establish, Poe, who by reason of his irregularities and intemperance was chronically impecunious, delivered at the Society Library in New York city on February 9, 1848, a lecture on the cosmogony of the universe. One who heard it says: "It was a stormy night, and there were not more than sixty persons present. . . . His lecture was a rhapsody of the most intense brilliancy. He appeared inspired, and his inspiration affected the scant audience almost painfully. His eyes seemed to glow like those of his own Raven, and he kept us entranced for two hours and a half." This lecture appears in his published works under the title of "Eureka, a Prose Poem," filling one hundred duodecimo pages. Its brief Preface is:

> To the few who love me and whom I love—to those who feel rather than to those who think—to the dreamers and those who put faith in dreams as in the only realities—I offer this Book of Truths, not in its character of Truth-Teller, but for the Beauty that abounds in its Truth; constituting it true. To these I present the composition as an Art-Product alone:—let us say as a Romance; or, if I be not urging too lofty a claim, as a Poem. What I here propound is true:—therefore it cannot die:—or if by any means it be now trodden down so that it die, it will "rise again to the Life Everlasting." Nevertheless it is as a Poem only that I wish this work to be judged after I am dead.

As to the motive of "Eureka," he says at the beginning of the essay: "I design to speak of the Physical, Metaphysical, and Mathematical—of the Material and Spiritual Universe:—of its Essence, its Origin, its Creation, its Present Condition and its

Destiny. I shall be so rash, moreover, as to challenge the conclusions, and thus, in effect, to question the sagacity, of many of the greatest and most justly reverenced of men."

Remarking that "whatever the mathematicians may assert, there is, in this world at least, no such thing as demonstration," he states his general proposition thus: "In the Original Unity of the First Thing lies the Secondary Cause of All Things, with the Germ of their Inevitable Annihilation." To illustrate and illuminate this proposition he takes a comprehensive survey of the universe, meaning by "universe" "the utmost conceivable expanse of space, with all things, spiritual and material, that can be imagined to exist within the compass of that expanse." And this makes up his "Eureka," of which Mr. R. W. Griswold, whom Poe appointed his literary executor, writes:

To the composition of the work he brought his subtlest and highest capacities, in their most perfect development. Denying that the arcana of the universe can be explored by induction, but informing his imagination with the various results of science, he entered with unhesitating boldness, though with no guide but the divinest instinct—that sense of beauty in which our great Edwards recognizes the flowering of all truth—into the sea of speculation, and there built up of according laws and their phenomena, as under the influence of a scientific inspiration, his theory of nature. I will not attempt the difficult task of condensing his propositions; to be apprehended they must be studied in his own terse and simple language; but in this we have a summary of that which he regards as fundamental:

"The law which we call Gravity," he says, "exists on account of matter having been radiated, at its origin, atomically, into a *limited* sphere of space, from one individual, unconditional, irrelative, and absolute Particle Proper, by the sole process in which it was possible to satisfy at the same time the two conditions, radiation and equable distribution throughout the sphere—that is to say, by a force varying in *direct* proportion with the squares of the distances between the radiated atoms, respectively, and the particular center of radiation."

Poe was thoroughly persuaded that he had discovered the great secret; that the propositions of "Eureka" were true; and he was wont to talk of the subject with a sublime and electrical enthusiasm which they cannot have forgotten who were familiar with him at the period of its publication. He felt that an author known solely by his adventures in the lighter literature, throwing down the gauntlet to professors of science, could not expect absolute fairness, and he had no hope but in discussions led by wisdom and candor. Meeting me, he said, "Have you read 'Eureka?'" I answered, "Not yet;" I have just glanced at the notice of it by Willis, who thinks it contains no more fact than fantasy, and I am sorry to see—sorry if it be true—suggests that it corresponds in tone with that gathering of sham and obsolete hypotheses addressed to fanciful tyros, the *Vestiges of Creation;* and our good and really wise friend Bush . . . thinks that, while you may have guessed very shrewdly, it would not be difficult to suggest many difficulties in the way of your doctrine." "It is by no means ingenuous," he replied, "to hint that there are such difficulties, and yet to leave them unsuggested. I challenge the investigation of every point in the book. I deny that there are

any difficulties which I have not met and overthrown. Injustice is done me by the application of the word 'guess.' I have assumed *nothing*, and proved *all*."

Mr. Griswold's own opinion of "Eureka" is given by him as follows: "I could not help but think it immeasurably superior as an illustration of genius to the *Vestiges of Creation;* and as I admired the poem (except the miserable attempt at humor in what purports to be a letter found in a bottle floating on the *Mare Tenebrarum*) so I regretted its pantheism, which is not necessary to its main design."

To some of the criticisms of objectors Poe made answer in the following characteristic letter to the editor of the *Literary World*, Mr. C. F. Hoffman:

Dear Sir: In your paper of July 29 I find some comments on 'Eureka,' a late book of my own. . . . I feel that I might safely claim the right, which every author has, of replying to his critic *tone for tone*—that is to say, of answering your correspondent, flippancy by flippancy and sneer by sneer—but, in the first place, I do not wish to disgrace the *World;* and in the second, I feel that I should never be done sneering, in the present instance, were I once to begin. Lamartine blames Voltaire for the use which he made of (*ruse*) misrepresentation, in his attacks on the priesthood; but our young students of Theology do not seem to be aware that in defense, or in what they fancy to be defense, of Christianity, there is anything wrong in such gentlemanly peccadilloes as the deliberate perversion of an author's text—to say nothing of the minor *indecora* of reviewing a book without reading it and without having the faintest suspicion of what it is about.

You will understand that it is merely the *misrepresentations* of the *critique* in question to which I claim the privilege of reply. . . . The first misrepresentation is contained in this sentence: "This letter is a keen burlesque on the Aristotelian or Baconian method of ascertaining truth, both of which the writer ridicules and despises, and pours forth his rhapsodical ecstasies in a glorification of the third mode—the noble art of guessing." What I *really* say is this: That there is no absolute *certainty* either in the Aristotelian or Baconian process—that, for this reason, neither philosophy is so profound as it fancies itself—and that neither has a right to sneer at that *seemingly* imaginative process called intuition (by which the great Kepler attained his laws); since intuition, after all, is but the conviction arising from those *in*ductions, or *de*ductions, of which the processes are so shadowy as to escape our consciousness, elude our reason, or defy our capacity of expression. The second misrepresentation runs thus: "The developments of electricity and the formation of stars and suns, luminous and nonluminous, moons and planets, with their rings, etc., are deduced, very much according to the nebular theory of Laplace, from the principle propounded above." Now the impression intended to be made here upon the reader's mind, by the "Student of Theology," is evidently that my theory may be all very well in its way, but that it is nothing but Laplace over again with some modifications that he (the "Student of Theology") cannot regard as at all important. I have only to say that no gentleman can accuse me of the disingenuousness here implied; inasmuch as, having proceeded with my theory up to that point at which Laplace's theory *meets* it, I then *give Laplace's theory in full*, with the expression of my firm conviction of its absolute

truth *at all points.* The *ground* covered by the great French astronomer compares with that covered by my theory, as a bubble compares with the ocean on which it floats; nor has he the slightest allusion to "the principle propounded above," the principle of Unity being the source of all things—the principle of Gravity being merely the Reaction of the Divine Act which irradiated all things from Unity. In fact, *no* point of *my* theory has been even so much as alluded to by Laplace. . . . The third misrepresentation lies in a footnote, where the critic says: "Further than this, Mr. Poe's claim that he can account for the existence of all organized beings—man included—merely from those principles on which the origin and present appearance of suns and worlds are explained, must be set down as mere bold assertion, without a particle of evidence. In other words, we should term it *arrant fudge.*" The perversion at this point is involved in a willful misapplication of the word "principles." I say "willful," because, at page 63, I am *particularly* careful to distinguish between the principles proper, Attraction and Repulsion, and those merely resultant *sub*-principles which control the universe in detail. To these sub-principles, swayed by the immediate spiritual influence of Deity, I leave, without examination, *all that* which the "Student of Theology" so roundly asserts I account for on the principles which account for the constitution of suns, etc.

In the third column of his "review" the critic says: "He asserts that each soul is its own God—its own Creator." What I *do* assert is that "each soul is, *in part*, its own God—its own Creator." Just below the critic says: "After all these contradictory propoundings concerning God we would remind him of what he lays down on page 28—'of this Godhead in itself he alone is not imbecile, he alone is not impious who propounds *nothing*'—: a man who thus conclusively convicts himself of imbecility and impiety needs no further refutation." Now the sentence, *as I wrote it*, and as *I find it* printed on that very page which the critic refers to and which *must have been lying before him* while he quoted my words, runs thus: "Of this Godhead, *in itself*, he alone is not imbecile, etc., who propounds nothing." By the italics, as the critic well knew, I design to distinguish between the two possibilities—that of a knowledge of God through his works and that of a knowledge of him in his *essential nature.* The Godhead, *in itself*, is distinguished from the Godhead observed *in its effects.* But our critic is zealous. Moreover, being a divine, he is honest—ingenuous. It is his *duty* to pervert my meaning by omitting my italics—just as, in the sentence previously quoted, it was his Christian duty to falsify my argument by leaving out the two words, "in part," upon which turns the whole force—indeed, the whole intelligibility of my proposition.

Were these "misrepresentations" (*is* that the name for them?) made for any less serious a purpose than that of branding my book as "impious" and myself as a "pantheist," a "polytheist," a Pagan, or a God knows what (and indeed I care very little so it be not a "Student of Theology") I would have permitted their dishonesty to pass unnoticed, through pure contempt for the boyishness—for the *turn-down-shirt-collar-ness* of their tone; but, as it is you, you will pardon me, Mr. Editor, that I have been compelled to expose a "critic," who, courageously preserving his own *anonymosity*, takes advantage of my absence from the city to misrepresent and thus vilify me *by name.* EDGAR A. POE.

Fordham, September 20, 1848.

We have printed thus much concerning Poe's "Eureka" in order that our readers may better understand the first article in

this number of the *Review* as well as our reason for publishing it; although, of course, no one can fully comprehend that article except by reading it in connection with the "Eureka," of which it is in reality an extension and continuation. That no scientific or practical worth was ever attached to Poe's "Eureka" by anybody but himself hardly requires to be stated. Its only value is as the gravest undertaking of a strange and unnatural genius, the most surprising freak of an acute and brilliant but unbalanced mind. He spent most of the year 1848 perfecting this "last and grandest effort of his genius," expounding it to occasional visitors at his poverty-stricken home in Fordham with feverish intensity, amazing splendor of diction, and entire positiveness of belief. Twenty days after Poe delivered "Eureka" as a lecture in New York city he wrote the letter which is referred to in the first article of our present number and which contained Poe's Addenda —"A PREDICTION"—that constitutes the greater part of that article. The latter portion of the article is made up of comments by the person to whom Poe wrote the letter—comments on Professor Stringham's criticisms upon Poe's Addenda. In the Addenda there is, of course, no value different from, or other than, that which belongs to the "Eureka," to which it is a supplement. The *Review* presents it as a literary curiosity, unpublished until now, *apropos* of the Poe revival and made the more interesting by the near approach of "the beginning of the next century," by which time Poe expected, as he wrote in his "Prediction," that his theory would be accepted by scientists and put into their books.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

OFTEN in the current discussion of various questions we are impressed that a crusade for more general education in American history is needed. The most contradictory statements of historical facts are confidently made, and nobody seems to feel bound to find out what the facts are except a few professors. Take, for example, the money question: Why should the text of the coinage law of 1892 be evidently as little known to thousands who write and talk on the subject as a chapter of the Koran or the Vedas? We refer to these point-blank contradictions, indicating amazing and contented ignorance on one or both sides, not with intention to discuss the merits of a question in which we do not claim to be expert, but because it illustrates one great defect of American education. The American people are too largely ignorant of

their own past. In Britain public men and the intelligent portion of the population are more thoroughly grounded in and familiar with the history of their own nation. They seem to know their thousand years better than we know our one fifth of a thousand.

All public questions are historical; they have roots in the past; indeed, man himself is every way historical; and all science is mainly concerned to trace out the history of things. Any given state of a public question is a result of a previous course of events and opinions; and in our case all that history is close, clear, and plain. If the text-books omit parts of it, accessible public records contain the whole. One of our forty-page dailies could print the full text of every coinage and currency act without displacing any valuable matter; but because there is no demand for the record it is not published. After long wrangling and fighting in the dark over the subject somebody bethinks him to refer to the record, and it is then produced, with clarifying and quieting effect. The propriety of beginning a controversy by taking a glance over the history and getting the exact facts in hand at the start ought to be obvious, but is often overlooked. Great questions are jumped at on the moment, and treated as if they had no past. It is not remembered that anything has ever been said or settled about them, and men discuss them offhand, glibly and crudely, without availing themselves of the wisdom and light to be found in previous great debates. The Monroe doctrine, of which so much is just now heard in connection with the Venezuelan trouble, is purely a piece of history; but the most wildly contradictory notions are uttered about it, for want of taking time to refer to the historic records which show the nature, scope, and bearing of that doctrine. It is asserted that twenty-five years ago, when we had fewer schools and poorer newspapers, the people knew their history better. The spectacle recently seen of two statesmen first betting about the provisions of an act of Congress and then referring to the record to settle their bet would have seemed absurd then; it is not so regarded now. We have retrograded in this respect mainly through our unhistorical press—a journalism which seldom expounds any subject in the light of what happened day before yesterday. History in the form of incidents, reminiscences, novels interweaving facts with fictions, isolated chapters, and broken fragments we get in abundance; but history in any connected view showing the evolution of dominant principles, the trend and set of great currents, the ebb and flow of strong tides of opinion, the landmarks and boundary stones fixed by past

struggles and judgments—this is not found in the periodicals from which our people derive their daily instruction. We fail to see questions whole and round in their historical setting, because we are in such a rush that we will not take time to look back, and we pass hasty snap judgments on present events without inquiring whether they have any roots, whether they are plants or pebbles—though, in fact, even a pebble carries its history inside of it and cannot be understood without finding out where it came from and how it migrated hither. We begin life anew with a vengeance every morning, forgetting that we had any yesterday; and as to the fund of wisdom we should have accumulated and carried forward out of our experience, we go into insolvency every night. This is not the whole truth, but there is so much truth in it that we frequently see a great people blundering along with one step forward and the next backward, stumbling and staggering to and fro illogically and sometimes disastrously, not remembering its painfully acquired lessons, not knowing its own mind from one year to the next. Contrast the election of 1888 with that of 1892, and that again with those of 1894 and 1895, and you see the nation reeling back and forth on ground so solidly historical, and so familiar if one looks into the past, that a people ought to know by this time which way it wants to go; instead of which it keeps wandering about, east, west, north, south, like a babe in the woods. Like a creature bereft of memory it recognizes nothing as familiar, and does not seem to know it ever went this way before. No mere animal could do such a thing; it would be sure to detect the scent of its own tracks or recognize something; brute stupidity in man sometimes seems the chief characteristic that distinguishes him from the beast. Questions which previous generations, the makers and preservers of this nation, regarded as defined and decided by history are puzzled over and fumbled with as if they were novel problems which the country had never had any chance to consider; or they are treated as footballs to be kicked about in the air for political amusement rather than as established parts of a structure built upon foundations and braced together to endure as the home and fortress of a nation's life. Often a political party in want of a campaign issue and planks for its platform picks up some question which the nation had for years regarded as decided, and as to which a settled policy had been pursued, and tosses it into the field for a scrimmage; and then it is to the interest of at least one party to keep history out of sight

and prevent the people from remembering that they or their fathers passed upon that question and settled it a long time ago for reasons eminently sane and satisfactory.

In the course of time the muddled and meandering nation usually gets back to the path. After guessing about the facts for a while and going through a panic of disaster and alarm the groping public mind, in the course of years, two or ten or twenty, gets hold of the essential facts and acts in view of them; which facts, however, it is in danger of forgetting when the bet is settled or the crisis is past. An agile and facile, if not flighty, people we surely are, and no faculty is more conspicuous in us than our facility for forgetting; nevertheless consistency of action, coherency of utterance, stability of mind, and steadiness of progress are elements which make for national strength and growth and dignity; and these elements cannot be possessed and preserved except by knowing our history, keeping hold of its lessons, and instructing each new generation therein. There is really no way of steadying a nation in its course without keeping its history before its eyes and making the record dear to its heart by marking thereon in distinct figures the tremendous cost-price paid for that history. And no man is a statesman unless he habitually views every question in its wholeness from its beginning to the present hour, its genesis, its gist, its recorded course, and its ascertainable bearings.

Nine tenths of the news which our present-tense press pours forth does not concern us except as a momentary curiosity, yet the very flood of it washes away the records we need to remember. The average man has no interest in and little respect for the study of history. The laudable efforts of some schools and lecture courses to bring historical studies to the front are a dead pull against the current taste of the time; which is why they advance so slowly. And historical study by a few college men, useful as it must be, does not meet our need in its wide extent. The importance of such study must somehow be impressed upon the people at large. The dwellers in a certain ancient city were ever on the alert to hear some new thing. That was less harmful than our itching desire to do some new thing, but even this might not endanger our welfare if we read history enough to know why existing things exist, and how all our institutions have grown, and that they are a harvest from the plantings and labors of long-gone years, and that all harvests have their growing time of "four months" or four centuries or four millenniums. It is not

merely holding the facts of history as knowledge that is essential, but rather the sense of history as a development. Every act of Congress has some past and goes into some future. The reasons for its adoption and the probable consequences thereof can only be visible by the light of yesterday. A people ought to know its common past as each man knows his individual past, and to determine its future, as he decides his, by an intelligence which holds on to the acquirements of time. It is not respectable to despise our predecessors in this great heritage of free institutions. Worship of ancestors is the Chinese extreme; contempt for ancestors is the American extreme. There is a safer middle way, to study the deeds of the fathers and, without being in bondage to any errors of theirs, consider and vote upon all questions in conference with them, listening respectfully while they "tell their experience."

It seems important to the stability of our institutions that historical instruction be given to, and the historical feeling created in, the mass of our people. For the schools to do this alone, against the sweeping flood of perishable news, is impossible. A daily paper making a specialty of the historical treatment of all current discussion and presenting the data for a comprehensive view of all questions might command a certain patronage which would grow as the interest in and taste for such scientific and philosophic elucidation increased and spread. In time the practice of reviewing the previous vicissitudes, the evolutionary progress of whatever question assumes public importance, would extend generally through journalism. The daily is the average man's working library, affecting his ideas and sentiments more than his occasionally read books. The consequence is that, as things now are, he usually sees things out of their relations and without historical perspective, because that is the way the newspapers give them. Hence it comes that his voting is so often zigzag and self-contradictory, and the ship of state is knocked about, now this way and now that. That stately craft, the British empire, steers a steadier course, through all successive administrations, because the statesmen who man her keep one eye on that great past of which they are so proud, and feel bound to preserve essential consistency therewith. The safety of the French republic—which may God protect!—depends on not forgetting the lessons of the past. Only men with memories, men "of large discourse looking before and after," are fit to be trusted with the guidance of nations.

THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF THE SAINTS.

Correct epistemology—the philosophy or theory of knowledge—is necessarily conducive to sound reasoning and safe conclusion. The philosophy of religion is the theoretic justification of theological belief. Especially is this true of saintly knowledge—the highest and most precious of all knowledges—understanding and knowing the Lord; the knowledge of which the Great Teacher spoke in his high-priestly prayer, "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent;" of which Peter wrote, "According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue;" of which Paul the aged, from the depth of his Mamertine prison, wrote to Timothy, "I know whom I have believed [trusted], and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day;" a knowledge that is the common endowment of God's spiritual Israel, of whom he says, "All shall know me, from the least to the greatest," and of which the Spirit of prophecy affirms that "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

This is a knowledge of God as an infinite and eternal spirit, present in all things and yet distinct from all things; perfectly intelligent, wise, truthful, just, good, and beneficent; the causator of all phenomena and reality, the governor of all agents, the source of all blessing, and the judge of all moral being. This is a knowledge induced by the consciousness of interblending fellowship of the unseen human with the unseen divine Spirit, of communicated truth, of unerring guidance to best issues, of felicitating love, abiding comfort, increasing strength, and inspiring hope; of an operative, persistent force that changes nature and character into the likeness of God in "knowledge," "righteousness, and true holiness;" and that, concurrently with free will, prepares the whole man for fuller revelations of the Father, and for entire bliss in his heavenly presence, where is "fullness of joy," and where are "pleasures for evermore." This consciousness voices itself in all its subjects in the grateful utterances of the saints, as exemplified by those of the old and new dispensations. Each and all speak of personal knowledge and experience—a knowledge to which they were once strangers, but which clarified and waxed more influential with advancing years and closer

communion. Their testimony is of the best class of credible witnesses.

Associated with saintly knowledge of God is that of Jesus Christ, whom he has sent into the world. Human nature longs for the definite, the visible, the tangible, the focusing of divine attributes and perfections in personality that shall convey knowledge to the spirit through the five pinholes of the senses. This inextinguishable longing is the explanation, in part, of the world's idolatries. It is gratified by the incarnation of the Logos, who is God, "the brightness of" the Father's "glory, and the express image of his person," "full of grace and truth." For more than thirty years, and most impressively and unforgetably in the three years of his public ministry, men "beheld his glory." They spoke and wrote of what they saw, of the glory of divine ideal manhood. true, tender, inflexibly just, yet supremely merciful, that "went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil;" that loved even the evil and unthankful, and by his teaching, example, suffering with and for them, strove to elevate them to the light, love, and life of communion with the Father. The evangelists tell us of those who knew him to be not only the best and greatest man of all time, but also "the Christ, the Son of the living God"—"God manifest in the flesh." Since his ascension millions uncounted of men have known him, not only as Americans historically and politically know George Washington and Abraham Lincoln—patriots, lovers of the human race, sages, exemplars, but as spirit knows spirit and soul knows soul, drawing from him wisdom, grace, and power of love that casteth out fear. The number of those who critically "know him and the power of his resurrection" is vastly larger in this than in any previous era. This knowledge is deep, distinct, felicitous; is "eternal life"—the lower depth in earthly conditions of that well of water springing up into the refulgent splendors of eternal bliss, the growing germ of the beauteous and fragrant flower that will expand into changeless perfection in presence of the Christ's unveiled glory and majesty.

What is the philosophy of this knowledge? How is it obtained? It begins in belief of what we are told is true. Here faith has its genesis. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Belief of religious truth rests primarily upon authority. It is unquestioning when the believer knows the goodness of the teacher's character. Questioning usually follows the rude shocks received from hypocrisy. It inquires into the reason of beliefs

and seeks for their proofs. When proof is adequate the formerly unquestioned or questioned passes into the category of reasoned belief. Trust, with expectancy of desired benefit, follows. It brings the whole being into touch with the divine. Mysterious force enters the trustful, calming, gladdening, invigorating, expanding, uplifting, so that the man is a "new creature," creation renewed. This he knows, and in the knowing knows also the true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he has sent.

It is with this latter knowledge, as possessed by the percipient spirit, that we are more immediately concerned. "What shall I do to be saved?"—from sin and ill—is the deepest and most urgent inquiry of a soul awake to its spiritual relations. "Place yourself, so far as you can, in concord with the Lord's will. Believe that Jesus Christ is the divinely appointed Saviour of men —of yourself. Then shall you receive the Holy Spirit, the peace of God which passeth understanding, an assurance of forgiveness, of adoption, of renewal in righteousness," is, in substance, the evangelical reply. These instructions assume belief in God, Christ, the Holy Spirit—a belief that may fall far short of the truth, and yet be instrumentally saving. Essentially this belief is of the same nature as belief in material things with which the individual is in sensible proximity. Any one of these—a locomotive, for example—produces certain sensations of the nervous system, which sensations are perceived by the mind or spirit. Our knowledge of the fabric is determined by the nature, number, and order of these sense-perceptions. Definition is limited by them. Of the inner nature of the materials composing the structure we know nothing. So true is this that philosophers like Berkeley have plausibly argued, contrary to experience, that matter is a creature of the imagination, and that the whole universe of sense consists in perception of an order of sensations. Either Mill or Berkeley being judge, our consciousness or knowledge of the objective not-self is the certainty corresponding with the reality; which certainty is obtained immediately by spirit-perception of what invisibly passes in the system of nature.

So also with the spirit, the *ego*, the recipient and percipient of sensations, thoughts, emotions, and volitions. This feels and thinks and wills. Of its inmost nature we are as much in the dark as of the inmost nature of matter. Yet of it, as of matter, we know that it is, and that it excites thoughts and emotions as body excites sensations. Our knowledge of mind, as of body, in its last analysis is determined by self-perception of the influence

or force it exerts upon us. So saintly knowledge of God is determined by the influence of his attributes and perfections upon our material and moral being, *plus* the influence bearing upon us through and by our Lord Jesus Christ, whom—like Paul—we have trusted; and who, we are persuaded, is able to keep the precious soul treasure we have committed to him until that day. Knowing God and Jesus Christ, knowing that we are passed from death unto life, knowing that we have received of his Spirit, lays the foundation, in the full assurance of faith, of that knowing that if the "earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Saintly knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ is not, however, exclusively, and perhaps not chiefly, through reason. This is not the sole course of legitimate beliefs. "Theology would be unnecessary if all we are capable of learning about God could be inferred from the study of nature." "From the world as presented to us by science we might conjecture a God of power and a God of reason [the ordered system of phenomena compels us to postulate a rational Author. 'That he created it, that he sustains it, we are driven to believe']; but we never could infer a God who was wholly loving and wholly just. So that what religion proclaims aloud to be his most essential attributes are precisely those respecting which the oracles of science are doubtful or are dumb." Knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ is not only through reason, but is also through intuition, or the power of immediate knowing, in which the mind stands face to face with reality, in the absence of distorting *media*. This power is not confined to axioms and pure intellections. Reason is powerless when unserved by simple cognitions or intuitions. Bishop R. S. Foster truly remarks that "all knowledge is, in the last resort, intuition;" and that the mind intuits itself, the external world, and ethical distinctions when rightly related to them. Intuition and reason are complemental. Intuitive reason cognizes realities not given in sensation; also "universal, necessary, conditioning truths and laws"—the reality of force in the universe, the great law of cause and effect, the existence of an agent competent to the production of any effect or change, and the underived existence of the Being anterior to all change. It cognizes supersensible beings who conduct commerce of thought and love between themselves while eluding the powers of sense. Spencer admits that "reason cannot take even a first step toward discrediting the in-

tuitions which yield the consciousness of external existence without tacitly positing these intuitions as data, and connoting the existence of subject and object by all the words it uses." Reason is based on sense-perception, which in itself is spiritual. But sense-perception is not more clear, fundamental, and universal than intuition, or pure, nonmediated, spiritual perception. The latter testifies as positively and trustworthily to the reality of beauty in nature, art, music, and moral life as the former to external phenomena. The child sees something in the mother, the friend something in the friend, that cannot be detected by ocular vision. Moral qualities, transcending sense-perception, are clearly distinguished by spiritual perception. The revelation of God in nature, and in direct communication, has from the beginning been, more or less, the heritage of our race. In the blending lights devout souls have always believed in him and sought fellowship with him. They believe in his love, wisdom, and beneficence. "We must believe that somewhere, and for some being, there shines an unchanging splendor of beauty, of which in nature and in art we see, each of us from our own standpoint, only passing gleams and stray reflections, whose different aspects we cannot now coordinate, whose import we cannot fully comprehend, but which at least is something other than the chance play of subjective sensibility or the far-off echo of ancestral lusts."

Men understand God and Jesus Christ infinitely better through the inspired writings than through the testimony of nature. These, addressed to the reason, are accepted on evidence as divinely true on all questions of faith and morals. They bring Jesus Christ within the field of spiritual perception. The soul, yearning to be right and to do right, intuits or knows him, as thus represented, to be of purity immaculate, knowledge exhaustive, wisdom infallible, love transcendent, power omnipotent; knows him as having resources infinite, which supply desire for all good, while they develop capacity for its enjoyment, both in this life and in the life which is to come. It perceives and knows that "in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."

Thus in intuition and in reason are the changeless grounds of belief, and in triformed unity of the individual believer is the consciousness, the reasoned knowledge, that corresponds with the divine and Christly realities. All—sustained, empowered, and illustrated by example and testimony—justify and explain the γινώσκω and γνῶσις of believers singly, and of the Church of God as a whole. Such is the epistemology of the saints.

THE ARENA.

A FRIENDLY WORD WITH MY CRITICS.

AMID the general approval which *Growth in Holiness* has called forth from all parts of the country some discordant voices have been heard, which, considering its departure in some respects from previous volumes on this theme, was to be expected. As some have misconceived the purpose of the book and its principal positions, I write to correct these misconceptions.

With the main lines of Wesleyan theology on this subject I have no quarrel whatsoever; I am entirely orthodox, so far as I know what orthodoxy is. I firmly believe, as readers of the book can see, that all men are born in an abnormal or depraved condition, which condition, at conversion, is greatly altered but not entirely made right. I also believe that all these who are thus constituted by the new birth children of God, holy because he is holy, as they go forward in the discharge of Christian duty receive greater illumination as to their inward state, and by deeper consecration, with its accompanying faith, receive correspondingly increased purification, which purification may, and should, become so far complete that they will lead a thoroughly loyal and every way consistent Christian life, without conscious condemnation, not doing at any time what they know to be wrong, and yet perpetually pressing on toward that goal of entire Christlikeness, that destruction of "the whole work of the devil in man," which John Wesley says (Sermon 67) the Son of God does not effect so long as we remain in this life.

That this glorious doctrine of Methodism is substantially correct, and that its blessed experience should everywhere be promoted, I heartily believe. But the terms in which it has generally been described I have long felt to be objectionable. Those who find the old-fashioned phrases satisfactory and helpful I have no desire to disturb. By all means let them cling to the ancient nomenclature, if it conveys to them scriptural truth and feeds their souls. But it had come to my knowledge that there was a large class of people in the Church who were not satisfied with, nor helped by, the established statements; who found Wesley's *Plain Account* anything but plain; and who were greatly stumbled by what seemed to them palpable inconsistencies, clear contradictions, and unscriptural positions in the current teaching. It was for them I wrote, deeming it a manifest duty to let shine for their benefit the light which God had given me, and in which I had long been walking with great freedom and much spiritual joy. I have so far seen no reason to suppose that I mistook the divine voice. The large sale which the book has had, and the large pile of letters on my desk testifying to the good it has done, amply confirm my impression that such a book might be helpful to some in the present condition of the Church.

One of my critics has seen fit to say of the volume that "it is needless

to many, hurtful to more, helpful to none." That it is needless to many I have no hesitancy in admitting; the same could be said of a large proportion of the good books that are published and the good sermons that are spoken. As to how many it may hurt I cannot say; nor do I hold myself responsible for such harm as may incidentally come to some, remembering what the apostle Peter said concerning the epistles of his "beloved brother Paul," "wherein are some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unsteadfast wrest, as they do also in other scriptures, unto their own destruction." But when this excellent brother goes so far as to declare my effort "helpful to none," I submit that he goes further than any facts in his possession can possibly warrant. His ignorance, however extensive, concerning the good accomplished cannot nullify my knowledge, however limited. I take the liberty to append a few quotations bearing on this point culled from letters received by me, some of them from persons in high position in the Church:

"What a blessing your book has been to me! It has helped me very much; I know I shall have a better Christian experience because of it in the years to come." "I have read it with great pleasure and profit." "It has been a great blessing to me." "The best work on this subject that I have ever read; a book greatly needed in the Methodist Church, and one that will help thousands of Christians." "It cannot be answered, I think; and will do a world of good." "I am under great obligation to you for your *Growth in Holiness;* it is an era in Methodism. It is from the standpoint of the New Testament, and not Methodist tradition. Thank God that you have such courage." "Your book is the best ever written upon that subject." "It has been beautifully done." "Your book must do great good; it is to me the best I have ever read, considered from the standpoint of psychology, exegesis, and experience." "The Church has long needed just such a restatement of our attitude on sanctification."

In the same line should be noted the following published declarations, mostly from editors of our Church periodicals:

"A most timely, useful, and inspiring book; it will speedily take rank as a standard with those who are most capable of influencing the mind of the Church." "It cannot fail to aid those interested in the progress of the religious life." "This well-reasoned book proves Dr. Mudge to be a singularly sane and sympathetic advocate of the doctrine of sanctification." "A book worth reading from a man entitled to be heard." "A valuable and scholarly book: its spirit is above criticism. It will mark an era in the discussion of this subject; it will do good and only good." "The most remarkable book that has dropped from our denominational press in a generation." "I regard its publication as an epoch in Methodism; a theory of holiness consistent with the latest developments of the science of the human soul." "A much-needed and valuable discussion of the great theme. We venture the judgment that there are but few positions taken in this book which can be overthrown. The volume will command attention by the keen, penetrating knowledge of the human heart which it reveals, by its psychological analysis, by its manly search for the truth, and by its courteous spirit." "Taken in all and all, Dr. Mudge has written, we do not hesitate to say, the best book on sanctification that has yet appeared in any branch of the Methodist Church. The distribution of ten thousand copies of it in every part of our Church would be an untold blessing."

That *Growth in Holiness* has been greatly helpful to very many must be perfectly clear from the above quotations, which could be greatly extended were space allowed me. Why, then, should there have been aroused in any quarter such violent animosity against it? The head and front of my offending seems to be that I have dared to become, as Dr. Lowrey puts it, "a critic of Wesley." Again and again this

unheard-of enormity is dilated on by various persons, with uplifted hands and bated breath, as though it was scarcely to be believed that a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church could really have fallen so low. But the fact is beyond question, and the culprit freely admits it. In sincere regard for Wesley, as one of the noblest men this world has seen, I yield to no one. But if it is required that he be set upon a pinnacle of infallibility and worshiped I beg to be excused. He was unquestionably a very great man, but that he was outside the pale of criticism in all the multitudinous things he wrote is certainly a very large claim, and one which I, at least, find it impossible to concede. My opponents, some of them, strangely enough insist over and over that in differing with Wesley on some points of nomenclature I set myself up to be a greater man than he, and than all the Wesleyan writers who, in unbroken succession, have scrupulously avoided any intimation that their chief might possibly have blundered. Against this uncalled-for inference I must strenuously protest. I hasten to declare—yet how can it be necessary?—that I am far inferior to Wesley in every particular save only in this, that God has placed my life more than a century after his death. But this particular seems to me a very momentous one. It implies an entirely different standpoint as to many things. So great have been the changes in philosophic and theologic thought in the century and a half since Wesley's statements were largely formulated that it is simply inconceivable that any man of his caliber would, if he were writing now, write just as he wrote then. Humboldt was a very great man, but the student of to-day who chooses to state scientific truth in quite a different manner from his does not thereby assume to be greater than Humboldt. Luther and Calvin and Augustine were great men. Did Wesley in differing from them challenge a comparison between their intellectual stature and his own? Such assumptions would make the progress of doctrine or of science very difficult indeed. The question at issue is not at all one of comparative bigness of brains between Wesley and somebody else. Nor is reverence for the "fathers of Methodism," for "ancestral ideas," for "standard authors," the thing most carefully to be considered. The question simply is, What is true? They who can trace a process of argument, comparing Scripture with Scripture and following the guidance of reason, are the ones to decide. My appeal is to those Methodists who are sufficiently set free from the terror of great names to use their own minds, and who are accustomed by scholarly training to measure the force of words. I have entire confidence as to what their verdict will be.

The next most serious charge against me is that I have made an effort to "unsettle the faith of the Church in its long-cherished doctrine of Christian perfection," and to "stay the growing tide of holiness;" that I "antagonize the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification." This is at the utmost possible distance from the facts in the case. My effort has been to settle this doctrine, dearer to me than life, on better foundations. I have striven to make it much more effective by altering somewhat its outward garb while in no way disturbing its inward essence. This point

my critics seem to have great difficulty in comprehending. If the *names* are in any way varied, they take it that the *things* themselves are changed. A little closer examination would show them that this is not so. For example, I am accused of "repudiating the doctrine of original sin," which is about the same as to say that I am a Pelagian or a Unitarian. There is no foundation whatever for this charge; I have simply suggested that, as a working term to express the state into which all the descendants of that original sinner, Adam, are born, "depravity"—the commonly accepted modern name—is very far better than "inbred sin" because much less likely to carry with it Calvinistic implications. Everything which a thorough-going Arminian can consistently believe about our fallen condition I firmly hold. It seems to me of the utmost importance that the ideas of demerit and blameworthiness be not dissociated from sin. And since no Arminian can admit that any blame attaches to us merely for what we inherit from Adam or our other ancestors it is very awkward for him to call that inherited condition sin. I change the name for very good reasons, without at all changing the thing.

It is the same with other matters. I am accused of Zinzendorfianism. One writer quotes against me a long array of deliverances from our bishops, wherein they declare, in answer to a specific question, that "regeneration and entire sanctification are separate and distinct." It is to me quite inconceivable that one who had read my book with any sort of attention could suppose that I did not make regeneration and entire sanctification, properly explained, "separate and distinct." My contention is that the sanctification which every child of God at the new birth obtains is the only sanctification necessary *at that time* to his seeing the Lord, and is *entire up to the light* at that time vouchsafed to him. But that it is absolutely entire, or entire in the sense in which it will come to be in his subsequent progressive experience, I strenuously deny. I am in full accord with Wesley and universal Methodism at this point.

I am accused of writing a book to "dissipate the idea of the second blessing," of being "thrown into convulsions" by it as by a horrible "specter." This is so far from being the case that I took special pains to defend the important truth there is in the term (pages 165–167); and in a volume called *Forty Witnesses*, published by our Book Concern a few years ago, it appeared that I was the only one of the forty who had approvingly used that term in describing his own experience. I believed in it then; I believe in it now. Only I insist that it shall be rationally and scripturally explained, so that the important *things* which are undoubtedly comprised in it shall not be given improper and misleading names.

Again, it is alleged that I have no business, in describing the operations of grace, to use other figures of speech than those which are employed in the Bible—to say, for instance, "empowered against all temptation," rather than "cleansed from all sin." But, as I look at it, the Bible is not a stereotyped theological text-book wherein we are to find written down for all times and all lands the only possible, or allowable, formulas of doctrine. Such a theory would be a worshiping of the letter that killeth

rather than of the spirit that giveth life. The men of each generation and of each country desire to hear the good news in the particular tongue in which they were born; and they must, so far as possible, be gratified. If we can give that news greater effectiveness by translating it, not with literal exactitude, but with free adaptation to the habits of mind and forms of speech of the people among whom we live, surely it is our duty so to do. It is for this purpose only, and to this extent only, that I have substituted some more modern words for those which did such good service in ancient Judea and Asia Minor and Greece.

Very gladly would I take up other allegations and accusations, were it proper for me to use more of the valuable space of this *Review*. But it is scarcely necessary. They deal with utterly unimportant matters. And the answers to them are obvious to those who read the book with any fair degree of intelligence. One thing stands out very distinctly, after all the criticisms of my little volume. No important position taken in it has been even assailed, much less overthrown. No serious attack has been made upon its main argument. It has been called by one aged "holiness" writer "damnable stuff;" but, surely, that proves nothing, except that the assailant lost his temper. I have been publicly invited to retire from the Methodist Church as one no longer wanted, who has violated his ordination vows and is a proper subject of discipline. But until the New England Conference, a humble member of which I have the honor still to be, intimates that it feels disgraced by my continuance therein, I shall not withdraw. When the overthrow of my arguments is attempted I shall be quite ready to defend them. Meantime let it be noted that mere assertion that Wesley could not blunder or contradict himself, because he was such a very great man, are worth but little in face of the fact that I have *proved* he did. I will add just here, what every one familiar with his writings knows, that he was so great a man that again and again he freely admits that he had blundered, corrects himself, and improves upon his own statements. Let it also be noted that charges of inconsistency cannot fairly be made out against me when my words are taken in senses which throughout the book I expressly repudiate, and for the correction of which very largely the volume is written. If my critics do not apprehend the distinctions I have made, see neither sense in them nor call for them, no one can be less surprised at it than the author. I expressly pointed out in the preliminary chapter for what class of people the book was written. If some of those for whom it was not intended have chosen to read it and been stumbled by it or made angry with it, I disclaim all responsibility. They who are more anxious to have what will seem to them a well-reasoned, self-consistent, wholly scriptural theory of Christian perfection than they are to have one which in every smallest particular accords with the phraseology of John Wesley; they whose desire is first, last, and all the time for the truth of Methodism, will welcome this brief treatise. Let those who would really know what I have taught read the book itself rather than garbled quotations from it. The Nashville *Christian Advocate* says: "While it pays strict attention to

the accurate and scientific use of words it is still in the best sense a popular work, and can easily be understood by any intelligent man." From the intelligent men of Methodism I shall suffer no injustice.

Lowell, Mass. JAMES MUDGE.

"OF WHAT USE IS IT?"

A WRITER in the last issue of the *Review* asks this question about the Song of Songs. But why does he limit his inquiry to that exquisite little drama? We would like to ask the same question about a very much larger portion of the Bible. What is the Bible, anyhow? "What it is intended to be seems one of the things no one can find out." One of the best of our learned men tells us that the first chapter of Genesis is a poem; another says that the first twelve chapters are not historical; another, that they are all literal fact. And what is the use of the dry tables of names and numbers in the fifth, tenth, eleventh, and forty-sixth chapters of Genesis, and in the first nine chapters of First Chronicles? These and other tedious lists occupy more space than the Canticles. How much "supernatural revelation" or "divine inspiration" is there in any of them? Almost half the contents of the last four books of the Pentateuch consists of minute details of Levitical rites and ceremonies, of no practical value for us. As a conundrum, not only the Song of Songs, but Ecclesiastes, and Job, and Jonah, and the prophecies of Daniel, the last nine chapters of Ezekiel, half the Book of Zechariah, and the entire Apocalypse of John have been a great success; but as a supernatural and infallible revelation they are all "a failure." Wherein are these Scriptures more to be desired than Plato's *Dialogues*, or Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Butler's *Analogy*? If it is "nonsense" to include the Song of Songs among the Scriptures, must we not multiply the same nonsense twentyfold and apply the same reasoning to all these other parts of the Bible which are equally open to question?

Perhaps these questions ought not to pass without a few additional sentences, by way of suggestion. An analysis of fundamental positions, apparently taken for granted by the writer of the inquiry in the last *Review*, discloses the following assumptions:

1. Every book of the Bible must needs be a disclosure of saving truth.
2. Every book of the Bible must needs be a supernatural revelation.
3. A book that has for ages failed to secure uniformity of interpretation cannot be an inspired Scripture.
4. When such men as Dr. Strong, Dr. Terry, and the Rev. W. W. Martin disagree in an exposition they are all alike to be discarded.

Here are several far-reaching propositions, most of them of the nature of *a priori* assumptions. But on what authority are such assumptions made? It may be that a large proportion of the difficulties some people find in the Scriptures arises from unwarranted assumptions of what they imagine the Bible ought to be. Would it not be wiser to ascertain first what the Bible is, and afterward adopt a theory, both of revelation and of inspiration, which is in harmony with the facts? INQUIRER.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

HOW SHALL THE CHURCH UTILIZE THE REVISED VERSION?

Although the Revised Version of the English Bible has now been in the hands of the people for several years the question of its probable substitution for the King James Bible is still an open one. Little progress in this direction has been made, either in England or America. So far as we are aware, no considerable body of Christians has thus far adopted it for formal use in the public congregation, nor does there seem to be any tendency to do this. It was to be expected that readers would need a long time to become so accustomed to its changes as to feel at home with it in their public religious services, although they might find instruction and edification from its use in their private studies and meditations. This natural expectation has been realized, and the New Version has been employed as a commentary on the former translation by multitudes who would not be willing to have it read in the public worship of the congregation. The very language of the King James Bible has interpenetrated our thinking; it has become familiar to our ears; it has so often expressed our sense of need before the throne of God, and our hopes for the life to come, that any deviation from its exact phraseology jars upon our hearts as well as upon our ears.

Then, too, it is complained that the revisers, while critically accurate in their renderings, have not availed themselves as fully as they should of the wonderful resources of the English tongue. We propose no discussion, however, of the work itself, which the Church has acknowledged to have been well done. The important question is, What shall we do with the New Version? How shall we utilize these last results of the best biblical scholarship of England and America? It is not necessary to assume that the Revised Version will never come into general use. We are told that the King James Bible, which we now hold so dear, was under suspicion for a long time, and was not introduced generally for half a century. The Latin Vulgate of Jerome was a century in reaching general recognition. Until the time of its adoption shall come, however, something should be done to utilize the more accurate renderings which are found in the New Version. The Rev. Dr. Huntington, of New York, in a recent sermon on the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church for 1895, gives the following statement of its work in this direction:

> Of the things actually done by far the most important was the appointment of a commission of competent scholars to consider which and how many of the new readings, recommended in what is known as the Revised Version of the Holy Scriptures, it may be well to introduce into the margin of our standard Bible. It has now become tolerably evident that in the Anglican portion of Christendom, at least, there is a rooted unwillingness, a strong disinclination, to accept the Revised Version as a substitute for the long-established translation known as King James's Bible. Time enough would seem to have elapsed since the New Version made its appearance to allow of our reaching definite conclusions upon this point, and

the popular verdict is (again I say, I am speaking for the Anglican portion of Christendom) that for the general purposes of edification the old is better. The revisers were, no doubt, famous Grecians, but there seems to have been lacking among them that quick ear for melodious English which was so evidently the endowment of those masters of our tongue who, three hundred years ago, gave us the Bible as we have it. At the same time it is not to be denied that among the many emendations put forth by the revisers there are not a few that wonderfully elucidate the true meaning of the sacred text, which for purposes of public reading would be an immense gain. How to make these choice renderings available for us, without disturbing the integrity of the printed text of the Bible as it lies upon the lecterns of our churches, is the question. A happy solution of this difficulty offers itself in the shape of a scheme of marginal or alternative readings. This is no new device, as all students of the Bible are aware. King James's Version, and the versions antecedent to it, have all had their marginal readings, and it has always been open to the minister in reading the daily lessons to avail himself of these alternative phrases, where to do so would more clearly bring out the writer's purpose and intent. What is now proposed is simply to substitute for the marginal readings new ones gathered from the Revised Version. It is a most creditable effort, for the success of it would mean the clearing up of many obscurities which perplex those who listen to Holy Scriptures, as they hear it read to them in public worship, and would go far toward determining the final status of the Revised Version to be rather that of a commentary upon, than that of a substitute for, the English Bible of the last three centuries.

The preacher distinctly states that he is speaking only for "the Anglican portion of Christendom." It is a subject, however, that should interest all English-speaking Christendom. One of the dangers of our time is the multiplication of versions which are each known as the Bible, and the consequent confusion in the minds of those who, from knowing little of the intricacies of translation, cannot understand the necessity for so many variants in the renderings of the word of God. The unconscious influence of environment and early training in molding even our conceptions of the meaning of language is well known; and hence it is necessary that the work of revision should be done by scholars who come from varied environments, who are accustomed to different methods of procedure, and who stand for different schools of Christian thought. This is an element of great value in the late revision. Christian scholars, representing many sides of scholarship and various modes of thinking, joined in the work. The late critical scholar, Professor Ezra Abbot, with the natural liberalistic tendencies of the school of thought in which he had been reared, was in close communion with such a champion of orthodoxy as Dr. Timothy Dwight, and had ample time to compare notes with him on the punctuation of Rom. ix, 5, and other controverted passages of Scripture.

The suggestion we offer, in connection with this recent action of the Protestant Episcopal Convention, is that the subject shall be taken up afresh by the different Churches, and, if the various denominations regard the action as desirable, that a commission of Christian scholars shall be appointed to cooperate with those selected by the Protestant Episcopal Church in deciding what marginal changes are necessary or desirable. Time enough has elapsed since the publication of the recent revision to scrutinize the passages on which criticisms have been made, and the united action of such a committee would be regarded by the English-speaking Church as final for many years to come. A Bible in any sense denominational in its bearings would, in this age of harmonization, become an injury rather than a blessing to the kingdom of God. On the other hand,

our King James Bible, with marginal readings approved by the whole Church, would receive general approval, and would prove of great value in the edification of the body of Christ. If such a universal consensus in securing the desired result is not possible we would suggest as an alternative that a complete edition of the present Bible be prepared with marginal notes containing such changes only as have been accepted by both the English and American committees of the late revision. This would include every change on which absolute unanimity has been reached, and would constitute a basis for universal acceptance. It would seem impossible for any scholar, however eminent, to dispute with any hope of a successful following the unanimous expression of so many representatives of the choicest biblical scholarship both of England and America.

HOW TO WIN CONGREGATIONS.

(*Continued.*)

In a preceding number of the *Review* we considered the wrong methods of securing congregations. We now inquire, What are some of the elements of success in securing congregations to be employed by one who proposes to adhere closely to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ?

He may win them by extraordinary preaching power. This, however, is so rare an endowment that it is not to be taken into account as one of the necessary factors. A study of the history of the Church will show that there have been comparatively few great preachers. It is sometimes said by people in other professions, "Where are your great preachers?" We might ask, "Where are your great lawyers? Where are your great physicians? Where are your great scholars?" Eminently successful men in any department of life are comparatively few; and in the great capitals of the world, where the talents of the world are supposed to be concentrated, they may be counted by tens, not by hundreds. As a matter of fact, the great work of the world is done by ordinary men; but it does not necessarily follow that it is ordinary work which they do. Great genius and great oratorical power are special gifts and belong to few. When, however, there are men, such as are found here and there, who possess this extraordinary power of proclaiming the Gospel, it cannot fail to win great congregations and, under the divine blessing, to lead them to Christ.

Personal friendship with people is another element in winning congregations to the house of God. This is especially the case in small communities—in villages and rural districts. In such places it is possible for preachers to be acquainted, not only with their own people, but also with those of other denominations and with those who attend no church at all. Oratory and the services of the church do not seem to draw them; but one whom they respect and one whom they have learned to esteem as a personal friend may always win them to the house of God when all other means have failed. There is special power in a man who inspires such friendships. In large cities and great congregations this

contact with people is, perhaps, impossible; but whenever it is possible it is a most effective instrument in spreading the Gospel.

Executive capacity in a minister is of great service in this regard. A large church is like a great institution or a great railroad enterprise, with many departments, many workers, and many leaders. It has its various organizations, such as the Epworth League, the Sunday school, and the multiplied agencies which have been brought into existence by the Christian Church. In the management of these executive capacity of a high order is very important. One who can have his eye and hand upon every movement of his church, who knows when to speak and when to be silent, when to control and when to leave control to others, has a power for efficiency such as cannot fail to make him eminently useful. A prominent layman told the writer that he believed the lack of executive capacity was a great deficiency in city pastors. He said that many could preach eloquent and even powerful sermons, but had no capacity to direct the various departments of the church; and so the practical administration was feeble in the extreme. It is not uncommon to find a man who, with moderate abilities as a preacher, is successful, through his administrative ability and tact, in holding and influencing large congregations.

A minister may win congregations also by hard work in all departments of church life. Personal effort, to which allusion has already been made, is the greatest factor in securing success. The capacity for hard work is itself a genius of a high order, and it may safely be said that one who has this capacity rarely fails to accomplish great results. A few hours every day, after the studies of the day are over, given to personal effort in inviting people to the church of God will accomplish results such as can be secured in no other way. Blessed is the man who has this gift of hard work, and blessed is the congregation who has a pastor thus endowed.

After all that has been said, there are always invisible influences that secure large audiences of which no analysis can be made. There are men who draw large congregations who are not great preachers, in the strict sense of the word, nor great pastors; but they have a unique personality which serves to attract people around them, who listen to their words and who come again and again. There is a preacher now in the mind of the writer who holds one of the largest congregations in a great city, and hundreds of ministers have attempted to analyze the source of his power. His sermons are simple, unaffected, plain. He is not a great orator, and in no sense a genius; and yet the people come Sunday after Sunday, always feeling that in doing so they have been greatly blessed. It is the power of a grand personality. It is the man back of the services. It is the truth which fills his heart and dominates his life. It is that invisible something which cannot be measured, but which, after all, constitutes an element of highest usefulness.

After all, the greatest power to win congregations, so far as the personality of the minister is concerned, is that which comes from close union with Christ by faith; from the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit; and from thorough consecration to God, through his Son, Jesus Christ.

PROGRESS IN CONFERENCE COURSE OF STUDY DURING 1895.

The readers of the "Itinerants' Club" during the past year have noticed the frequent mention made of the examinations in our Conference Course of Study. We have invited correspondence on this subject, regarding it as a matter of great importance at the present time. The enlargement of the course by the Board of Bishops, resulting in greater comprehensiveness and more difficulty in mastering the books selected without thorough preliminary training, has seemed to require special attention. The examining committees of the Conferences have been considering these matters, and some of them have reported the results of the work to this department of the *Review*. The word that comes to us from every quarter indicates progress. The summer schools have been utilized for this purpose. In one of these schools almost every member of the four classes of one of the Annual Conferences was present, with such members of their committees as had been appointed to conduct the examination on the books which had been previously assigned. In these assemblies are secured two advantages, the completion of a part of the Conference Course at an early period of the year, and also the holding of examinations in connection with special opportunities for improvement in studies bearing on ministerial work.

While the work of the committees is carried forward with much zeal and wisdom, we might inquire whether anything can be done, by changes in the order of study, to render their service more effective. The completeness of the Conference Course needs no eulogy. The books assigned to be studied during the four years are more than sufficient to tax the brain and the opportunities of a young man who is charged with the responsibilities of the Christian pastorate. The course should not be lightened, but it is worthy of consideration whether a larger part of it should not be placed among the studies required for admission on trial. If our bishops were to arrange it somewhat differently, transferring the first year's course to the requirements for admission on probation and then dividing the studies of the remaining three years into four parts, they would secure a more thorough preparation by our young ministers, and would also enable them to perform their preaching and pastoral labors with more efficiency. An examination of the course as now constituted will reveal the fact that a knowledge of the studies required to enter the Conference on trial is scarcely a sufficient foundation for a full comprehension of some of the books required in the later period of the course. It would also be helpful if the books should be arranged for study in the order of their difficulty, so as to make the earlier studies a preparation for those requiring more knowledge and greater mental application. A readjustment in the manner suggested would, we think, give added value to the excellent course which has been provided.

These and other means of promoting interest and accuracy in the Conference studies are being developed, alike in the East and in the West, and we congratulate our readers upon the progress in this direction.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

TWENTY-FIVE years have produced a remarkable change in the attitude and tactics of the destructive school of biblical critics. During the past decade a complete revolution has taken place, and the old positions have been altogether abandoned. Formerly great stress was placed upon the linguistic argument, upon style, diction, and vocabulary. But "phraseological statistics" no longer play an important rôle in determining the age of a book. The development theory has almost displaced the literary or linguistic, and consequently the critics put less stress upon the words used than upon the subject-matter. The books of the Bible, as we have them, it is said, are not from the pens of Moses, David, Isaiah, or other authors whose names they chance to bear, but are rather compilations, masses of ill-arranged data, often put together by an unskilled editor centuries after the events recorded took place. Our critics rewrite, or rather rearrange, these ancient writings and reproduce them in their original form. To do this in a scientific manner they have to picture the real state of civilization among the Hebrews in all the centuries down to our era. The critic throws the history of the chosen people upon a huge canvas; and, in panoramic style, the varied scenes from Moses to the close of the canon are made to pass before our eyes, and thus we obtain a clear view of the development of ideas and the progress of thought from age to age, as well as of the ruling ideas in any period. It goes without saying that some old-fashioned people cannot help believing that these fine pictures are mere reflections, based upon theories evolved from the brains of those hostile to evangelical truth and of unbelievers in supernatural revelation. This is not strange, since their conclusions are for the most part purely subjective, and not based upon historical data, sound reasoning, or even probabilities.

The method of this school is nowhere better illustrated than in the writings of Canon Cheyne. His recent article in the *Contemporary Review*, entitled "The Archæological Stage of Old Testament Criticism," is therefore interesting. This learned Oxford professor, the high priest of higher criticism in Great Britain, is a man who has thrown away all ecclesiastical fetters, and who prides himself on a profound knowledge of the science of biblical criticism from the standpoint of those not in bondage to the traditions of orthodoxy. This article, like almost everything from this author's pen, is profusely apologetic. He protests against being regarded as one who has changed his views on the subject of Assyriology; indeed, he assures us that he "has been preserved from that generally exaggerated distrust into which, quite excusably, men like Wellhausen and Robertson Smith fell." It is refreshing to see with what tenacity he tries to cling to his utterances of former days, while at the same time he is

gracefully getting ready to abandon theories already exploded and all at once to become the champion of "criticism and exegesis in an archæological direction." His language is very temperate, almost pathetic, but patronizing withal; it is that of a tender-hearted father to a wayward child. Both parties are cautioned against too hasty conclusions, and the hostile schools are exhorted to take their stand upon a common platform. Though Assyriology and archæology have made egregious blunders in the past, and thereby have rightly aroused our suspicions, we must not turn the cold shoulder upon these two inexperienced sisters—errors are expected of the young—but we must rather attempt to use them for the furtherance of biblical criticism. We, however, want not only a more archæological criticism, but also a more critical archæology.

The learned canon defines his position by a reference to the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis, where we may compare "the mythic and semimythic narratives of the Israelites and the Babylonians." Dillmann, whom Professor Cheyne very justly calls the most learned of modern critics, as is well known, wisely maintained that the story of creation, the deluge, and some others recorded in Genesis had their origin in an old tradition common to the Semitic peoples. Such a view, however, according to our learned reviewer, cannot hold its ground even provisionally. It is surprising with what facility Canon Cheyne, by a single stroke of his pen, can sweep away the objections of all those who happen to differ with him. Thus, when Riehm, Kittel, Sayce, Dillmann, McCurdy, or Gunkel does not agree with him he concludes that they are in the wrong.

But, to return to the origin of these myths. We are assured that "the glaringness of those mythic features in their original form has no doubt been toned down in Gen. i, and they have been harmonized fairly well with the higher Israelitish religion; but they are still, for all that, Babylonian, and not Israelitish." The object of this remark is clear. It is a determination to depress the date of Genesis, to bring it down to post-Mosaic times, so as to preclude the possibility of Mosaic authorship. Though the professor is willing to concede that myths concerning the creation of the world had made their way from Babylonia to Canaan previous to the fifteenth century before Christ, or as early as the time of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and that the Israelites on their first settlement in Palestine might have received some of these legendary accounts from the Canaanites, yet he insists that the story as told in the first chapter of Genesis bears unmistakable evidence of Babylonian origin. This is the more evident, we are informed, since the Babylonian myths show greater originality. Though the story of creation might have been known to Moses, we must, after all, not lose sight of the fact that there were "three other periods when either an introduction of new or a revival of old myths is historically conceivable." It will be difficult for most readers to see why three periods are named any more than ten; for, were there not constant communications all through the ages, and not simply at intervals of several hundred years, between Babylonia, Canaan, southern Arabia, and Egypt? Babylonian myths would be more

likely to influence Hebrew literature centuries before than during, much less than after, the captivity. Professor Gunkel, the latest writer on this subject, says in *Schöpfung und Chaos* (p. 144, *f.*) that the dates usually given to these myths are mere "compromises and must be abandoned, since 'most of the legends are very old.'"

The principal value of Canon Cheyne's article is the fact that it has called forth a rejoinder from Professor Sayce, whom the canon had charged with desertion from the ranks of the critics. The professor disclaims any change in his article toward real criticism, but admits that he no longer sympathizes with self-styled critics whose criticism starts with preconceived ideas and groundless assumptions, who treat imperfect evidence as if perfect, or who base opinion upon unproved theories; or, in other words, Professor Sayce, having been led to the edge of a dangerous precipice, and having realized the tendencies and results of the criticism advocated by his Oxford colleague and his friends, deemed it wise and necessary to change front.

The following are in brief some of the reasons which influenced Professor Sayce in rejecting the teachings of the more advanced higher critics:

1. He can no longer regard the Pentateuch as a kind of a literary hodgepodge, mostly compiled during the monarchy, though much of it is postexilic. He cannot believe that the story of Israel in the wilderness is legendary or mythical and that Israel had no history previous to the exodus. He has no sympathy with the analysis of the nineteenth century which slices up the Pentateuch into minute fragments and tickets them with a kind of algebraic symbols, finding no less than three or four distinct writers in even one short verse. He challenges the critics to analyze modern stories known to have a dual authorship, that are written in good English in our own times, as one of the novels of Besant and Rice. He justly characterizes such guesswork—done by students now living, at so distant a date and possessing comparatively little Hebrew literature, and "compiled from the imperfect literature of an imperfectly known language"—as a rope of sand ingeniously woven. Any method condemned by common sense must be unsound and unsafe.

2. Archæology has clearly demonstrated that Moses could have written the books bearing his name. The art of writing was practiced extensively in Egypt, Babylonia, and other countries centuries before the birth of Moses. The universality of writing in the fifteenth century B. C. is established beyond controversy by the Tel-el-Amarna tablets. The center of the literary activity, as revealed on these tablets, was Canaan. No wonder, therefore, that Professor Sayce asserts that "Canaan in the Mosaic age, like the countries which surrounded it, was fully as literary as was Europe in the time of the *Renaissance*." This being true, it requires less faith to believe in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch than to believe, as some critics did a few years ago, that the art of writing was unknown to the great legislator, or that there was no writing or Israelitish history previous to the age of Samuel.

3. The Semitic literature found in Babylon and Assyria is not a patchwork of compilations such as Cheyne would have us believe the Pentateuch to be. The slicing and patching process is practically unknown in the works discovered in the buried clay libraries of Babylonia and Assyria. No wonder, therefore, that so distinguished an authority as Professor Hommel, though admitting the possibility of older documents in the composition of Genesis, says that "it passes the wit of man to separate and distinguish them."

4. Many of the narratives, once characterized by the higher critics as "unhistorical figments of popular tradition," are now by the help of archæology proved to be genuine history. We need no longer relegate Melchizedek, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal to the realm of myth.

Let us ask, in conclusion, would it not be well for some American critics to follow the example of Professor Sayce and, in the words of Dr. Green, "revise their own ill-judged alliance with the enemies of evangelical truth, and inquire whether Christ's view of the Old Testament may not, after all, be the true view?"

WRITING IN HOMER.

The question of writing in the Homeric times has once more been reopened. This time, by a mere accident, Professor William Ridgeway, of Cambridge, England, in a most interesting article in the *Academy*, entitled "What People Produced the Works called Mycenæan?" incidentally referred to two words in that well-known passage in the *Iliad*—the only one, we believe, in the entire work where there is reference to writing of any kind—which relates the story of Bellerophon, the Joseph of the *Iliad*, who, being falsely accused by Anteia, the wife of Prœtus, was sent by the monarch to the court of his father-in-law, Iobates, King of Lycia, with a sealed message containing a request to have Bellerophon put to death. The passage in question has been variously translated, and all translators are agreed that it contains a reference to a document of some kind. The two words are *σήματα λυγρά* (book vi, line 168), which Professor Ridgeway renders "baleful pictographs." The learned professor assumes that this message, written in Argos, but sent to distant Lycia, was pictographic rather than alphabetic.

Mr. Samuel Butler calls the Cambridge professor to account, and demands some further proof in confirmation of his rendering. Professor Ridgeway has a difficult task before him, and probably he will never be able to satisfy intelligent readers that his assumption is well founded. His rendering of the two words was suggested by that of Mr. A. J. Evans, who, by the way, has made valuable discoveries within a year or two, especially in Crete, and who has written a very learned paper, called "Primitive Pictographs." Mr. Butler maintains that *σήματα*, though plural in form, simply means a document, just as the word "letters" is used for alphabetic symbols, or a document; and, while he is not able to present conclusive evidence that the double, or folding, tablet sent by

Prœtus to his wife's father was written in alphabetic symbols, he has the argument on his side. His translation of the passage, though not quite literal, may convey the correct idea. It is thus: "He gave him treacherous *letters of introduction*, to which end he wrote much damaging matter upon a folding tablet."

Professor Monro, of Oriel College, Oxford, in his article on Homer, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, translated the same passage: "Prœtus . . . gave him 'baneful tokens, scratching on a folded tablet many spirit-destroying things.'" And he adds: "There is no difficulty, therefore, in understanding the message of Prœtus without alphabetical writing. But, on the other hand, there is no reason for so understanding it."

Professor Ridgeway argues that σῆμα, the singular of σήματα, always means a mark or a picture, and that γράμμα would have been used were the writing in alphabetic characters. This is disproved by Mr. Butler, who cites several passages in which σῆμα has not this meaning. It makes but little difference whether Mr. Butler or Professor Ridgeway is correct. The great fact is the same, namely, that communication by letter or tablets, in legible characters of some form, was known in Iliadic times, and that one king thus corresponded with another. An art thus mentioned by the poet might have been practiced by himself or by some one for him. Whether the writing was pictographic, hieroglyphic, or alphabetic is of no importance any more than whether Chinese books are written in script peculiar to these people or in that commonly known as Roman.

But we should not neglect to mention that the most interesting part of Professor Ridgeway's article is that in which he refers to the ancient Pelasgians, who at one time occupied large portions of Greece, the surrounding islands, and much of Asia Minor. He thinks that the works commonly known as Mycenæan, including gems, ornaments, shields, different kinds of implements, and pottery, were produced by the Pelasgians. These objects have been discovered in widely separated places, not only in Greece, but in Thessaly, Crete, many localities in Asia Minor, and even in Italy and Egypt; this, if not a proof of the vastness of the Pelasgian empire, is certainly evidence of the extensiveness of their commerce. Ever since Dr. Schliemann made such wonderful discoveries in Mycenæ the efforts of the excavator have been rewarded by Mycenæan articles almost every year, at great distances from that ancient Pelasgian stronghold. Some of the most important finds of Mr. Evans in Crete were of this same class. On engraved gems and other objects are "what appear to be a series of pictographic symbols not allied to Egyptian hieroglyphs, but showing many points of resemblance to the symbols found on seals and other objects commonly known as Hittite." Is it possible that those people, so powerful in pre-Hellenic times, called by Homer and other classic writers Pelasgians, but of which so little is positively known, were the same as the Hittites of Egyptian, Assyrian, and biblical records? Strange indeed that Greek history knows nothing of the powerful Hittites, at least under that name. It would be wonderful if the archæologist should prove that the Pelasgians and the Hittites were one people.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

METHODIST POLITY IN FOREIGN FIELDS.

THE missionary extension of the period has put to a test the economy of the several Churches. A close study of their adaptations to the needs of the work discloses many points of interest and profit. The Methodist Episcopal economy has required considerable modification in the initial stage of some of its foreign fields.

1. A special modification of the itinerancy has often been found necessary. In Liberia, the feeble churches being unable to support their pastors except in part, the preachers have been obliged to enter into secular engagements as farmers, merchants, or civil officers, thus precluding their transfer from point to point on the recurrence of the Annual Conference sessions. Hence practically the pastors of the Liberia Conference were local preachers holding Annual Conference relationship. In other countries other causes have interfered with the operation of the itinerant plan. Local dialects were to be acquired, as in China, where one meets a new form of speech with every hundred miles, and it requires much time to become acquainted with foreign communities, win confidence, and establish educational and other interests. Hence there has been, as a rule, little application of the itinerant principle on foreign missions by reason of the time limit.

2. In India another modification or expansion of the usual economy appears in the uses made of the District Conference. This antedated the provision of the General Conference recognizing the District Conference as a part of the Church's economy. It was in practical operation in India before it was formulated at all in America. This District Conference takes the forms of procedure of an Annual Conference. From a thousand to fifteen hundred workers in North India Conference alone are "appointed" annually at the last session of the District Conferences to their fields of labor. There are in India some twenty-five presiding elders' districts, in which all the workers not connected with Annual Conferences hold membership in the District Conference, graduating from a course of study extending over eight years, and being elected by the District Conference. It is virtually the Annual Conference of all the workers not appointed by the bishop at the regular Annual Conference.

3. Another modification is the erection of an incipient General Conference, fully operative in India, and sought to be brought into existence in Europe and China. The General Conference ultimately sanctioned—what had already come into existence—a Central Conference in India, to preside over the publishing, educational, and other connectional interests of the Church at large throughout the country. This gives a quasi-autonomy, subject to a few "restrictive rules," to the work; and a similar plan might prove of advantage in other foreign fields.

4. There has been a modification, also, of the exercise of episcopal functions. The "missionary rule" provided for the ordination of men to both deacons' and elders' orders when going beyond the easy reach of episcopal offices. This has become less necessary than formerly because of the frequent personal presence of the bishops on the foreign mission fields, and is perhaps applied in more cases than actually demand it. But there are still fields where it is needful. A missionary to West China goes to a field which has never been visited by a bishop. It would require as much time to reach Chungking from Shanghai as to reach Shanghai from New York. Some bishops have doubted whether any mission ought to be established where distance precluded personal episcopal supervision. The Liberia Conference was for many years unable to graduate its younger ministers to full exercise of their ministerial functions, owing to the prolonged absence of the bishops from the field. The Church suffered by contrast with other Churches which more readily gave full powers to the accredited applicant for orders. For many years there were not ordained men enough to meet the demands of the Churches in Liberia. The same must become true of any field beyond the reach of the episcopacy. The West China Mission has not a solitary ordained native minister, nor can there be a fully developed native Church in West China under present usage. When by riot or sickness the foreign missionaries are driven from the field there is not a Methodist preacher in West China Mission to administer any ordinance of the Church. Foreign missionaries may be fully empowered by ordination under the "missionary rule," but the native preacher cannot be brought to the bishop any more than the bishop can be carried to him.

In order to obviate the dangers of the climate, which made episcopal visits to Liberia more or less perilous to health, the General Conference ordained that there should be a bishop for Africa, with local jurisdiction. To secure this constitutionally the requisite favorable vote of the General and the Annual Conferences was obtained. Later it was assumed that this vote justified the application of the principle to other fields, and a bishop was chosen for India and Malaysia, with local jurisdiction. There were a few persons who held that this last election should also have had the indorsement of a vote necessary to set aside the restrictive rule, but this formality was not observed.

That the election of a missionary bishop for India might not meet all the exigencies of the case was anticipated at the time. The India Conferences had asked for a general superintendent to reside in India, and only accepted a missionary bishop as the best possible compromise. It was felt by them to be desirable that the local bishop should visit America at intervals to secure men adapted to the field, to represent the work before the churches, and to consult with the other bishops on questions of law and general administration. It was necessary that the incumbent should be familiar with the field, the people and their customs, and with at least one of the vernacular languages of the land. Failing to secure a general superintendent to reside in India, the next best that could be

done was to let the India bishop return to America at intervals for the purposes just named. But the rapid growth of the work developed the necessity for the constant presence of the bishop on the field. The three Annual Conferences have expanded into five, besides the Malaysia Mission; the communicants have increased from seven thousand to over fifty-four thousand, and the two hundred native preachers have multiplied almost fourfold. New problems hourly present themselves, and the constant authoritative leadership of the bishop is required in the direction of a great Church scattered over a continent. It would seem, in the nature of the case, that his absence in America for the objects for which it is held to be desirable he shall visit it must seriously handicap the work. It is not easy to combine the advantages of the necessary local supervision with those of the general superintendency, nor is it easy to say how the missionary bishop shall be spared from a field like India for repeated and prolonged visits to America. There are those who see partial relief in the election of another missionary bishop for India, but even they feel that they would still lack some advantages to be derived from the visits of general superintendents not to be had by an increase in the number of missionary bishops. The probabilities are that the fuller evolution of this problem must come gradually and after experiment, but it is so imminent as to demand the most earnest and instant consideration of those best qualified to determine what is the wisest course to be pursued.

THE SITUATION IN MADAGASCAR.

The story of the relations subsisting between France and Madagascar is a very old one, dating back to the seventeenth century. In 1868 a treaty of friendship, recognizing on the part of the French the sovereignty of the Queen of Madagascar, seemed to end French ambition there. In 1883 the French made new demands resulting in a war. In 1886 a treaty of peace was signed placing the French in a privileged position as regarded the foreign affairs of Madagascar. The treaty contained ambiguous phrases, and the Hova government never agreed to the French interpretation. An annex, or explanatory document, was signed by the French plenipotentiaries, which was suppressed when the treaty was presented to the French chambers. The French have enforced their own interpretation and advanced their claims to a "protectorate," and have secured their end. Thus France takes Madagascar into her "sphere of influence" in Africa. She did not colonize that island; she did not carry civilization to it; she has not developed great trade relations there which have become strained; she has not so much as a French population on the island in conflict with the native social order. She wishes to control the political balance of power; and so she assumes to dominate, not a heathen country, where the basest passions run riot, whose suppression would afford some excuse for the proceeding, but the Christian queen of a Christian government. Politically speaking, we have slight interest in the event. Religiously speaking, we have the profoundest concern for the

native Church of the Malagasy, the martyr Church of an island which, laid on our coast, would reach in length from Maine to South Carolina. The London Missionary Society has expended some thirty millions of dollars, of which two millions have been spent on Madagascar in the last third of a century, while the native churches have contributed half a million dollars more. The London Society at this moment sustains thirty-nine missionaries in Madagascar. All this has been wrought out by British Christians, not by the French. Two things console the friends of Protestant missions at this juncture: first, the London Missionary Society is protected in its operations in Madagascar by a treaty with Madagascar and a convention with France; secondly, the Christian Church in Madagascar is built on an open Bible, and the civilization is of a strong Protestant type. These people know the foundations on which they have builded, and have a history behind them which will inspire them to heroic defense of their principles.

The whole island of Madagascar is, however, not Christianized or even nearly evangelized. The population may be placed at four millions, of whom four hundred thousand only, or one tenth, are Christians. The London Missionary Society had there, in 1894, 1,328 congregations and 280,000 adherents, of whom 63,000 were church members, and 1,061 native pastors and 5,879 preachers, the churches contributing $35,000 per annum. Besides this there are the missions of the Church of England Missionary Society, the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, the Norwegian Missionary Society, and the Society of Friends. Altogether they sustain 107 foreign Protestant missionaries in the island. The Roman Catholic and Protestant adherents number each about the same. While the government has exerted a strong influence for education it has not established schools, the only ones opened being mission schools.

What will be the influence of the French protectorate on Protestant missions? In Tahiti and other South Sea islands French influence was adverse to morality and to evangelical Christianity. French influence on the west coast of Africa has been seriously obstructive of Protestant missions in the Gaboon and in every other territory acquired from previously Protestant occupancy.

AMERICAN MISSIONS IN TURKEY.

A BODY of the most cultivated, wise, and otherwise able Americans has for years been engaged in Turkey as missionaries of the American Board. It would be difficult to name a corps of men at home or abroad of whom America might more justly be proud. The luster of their scholarship has been equaled by that of their statesmanship and by the rich fragrance of their humble devotion to the greatly benevolent work of elevating ancient Churches which had departed from the faith, had become sunken in idolatry and superstition, and were suffering oppression and cruelty at the hands of Mohammedans. The missions were accurately planned. That to the Armenians was assigned to Drs. Dwight and Goodell, in June,

1832. The Armenians in Constantinople were estimated at a hundred thousand. Other missions were established. These now number five, with perhaps fifty thousand adherents to the churches. Their influence has reached to the whole Armenian Church. When the late Rev. George Knapp, missionary at Biblis, died a few months since, three Armenian priests asked to participate at his obsequies, and the Armenians closed their shops to do him honor. These Armenian missions have been eminently successful. They have six colleges, forty seminaries, and in these and their common schools some twenty thousand scholars. For every mission school the people have established a dozen others themselves, and have become far more intelligent than the Turks. The sultan has become alarmed at their progress and at the changed aspect of Turkey superinduced by these missions. This, in brief, is the cause of the increased repression of literature, and of liberty in general, which the Turkish government brought to bear on Christians of the empire, and which has culminated in the massacre of possibly ten thousand Armenians at the hands of the Kurds and others, instigated by the central government at Constantinople. This all found its check in massed European fleets in the Dardanelles, but with what result will scarcely be known for a long time to come. Meanwhile all Americans must be interested that justice be meted out for all damage that shall come to this most splendid corps of Americans, whose lives are consecrated to the succor and purification of the ancient churches of Bible lands.

Some people assume to criticise our missionaries in India for receiving into the Church, by baptism, converted natives who cannot give an account of their theology. An instance is afforded just now, in a mission of another Church in Bengal of a poor shy Bengalese who was very nervous at the thought of being questioned by the missionary, and said, "Sahib, do not examine me; I cannot answer any questions." "What must I do, then?" asked the missionary. "Let me pray, sahib," said the man; "I believe I can do that." All knelt, and he who was embarrassed before man poured out his heart freely to God, in a way that convinced all that he knew God and his Christ. He was so earnest and pious that none could doubt where he ought to be counted and recorded.

It is an interesting fact that far more applications have been received from Li Hung Chang for students for the Anglo-Chinese missionary colleges than can be possibly met. They are in demand for the telegraph system, for the army and navy, and for General Li's medical school. His agents had instructions to procure them from the missionary colleges, because of the value of the moral training received there. This fact acquires additional significance from the constantly reiterated statements from all parts of China concerning the dishonest and peculating officials of the government. Ironclads and revolving rifles cannot make an empire strong.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Max Krenkel. He has recently attracted attention by the attempt to show that Luke employed Josephus as an important source of information for his writings. Among other arguments in support of this position he mentions the similarity of the introductions to the works of the two authors. That there is such a similarity no attentive reader will deny. But instances might be named of even greater similarity between the introduction of Luke and others, in which, however, the supposition of literary dependence would be excluded. Krenkel thinks he sees in the sameness of the topics treated by Luke and Josephus, and in the general similarity of style, the indubitable proofs of Luke's dependence upon Josephus. As to the similarity of style, it is sufficient to say that similar subjects must be treated in a somewhat similar manner. Besides, both lived in the same general period and were alike influenced by the style of writing then prevalent. As to the topics treated, Luke's dependence could only be demonstrated if it were proved that he had no other source of information than Josephus. Luke was an intelligent, not to say an educated, man, who had good opportunities to know the facts, by hearsay and observation, concerning which he wrote. Krenkel admits that Luke employed a number of sources for certain parts of his writings. If such be the case, how can there be any good proof that he was dependent upon Josephus for any part of his work? The attempt from this standpoint to show the lateness, and thus the untrustworthiness, of the history contained in the Acts and gospel is, like all other attempts in the same direction, a failure. Krenkel, however, undertakes to show that Luke's vocabulary is so closely related to that of Josephus as to indicate the dependence of the former upon the latter. It is not necessary to deny that there is a similarity in the vocabulary of the two. It is most natural that there should be. Both wrote in Greek, and nearly at the same time, on related subjects; but there is a much greater similarity between the vocabulary of Luke and the Septuagint; so that from this argument also no evidence of the lateness of the books attributed to Luke can be drawn.

Theodore Elsenhans. In relation to the conscience, its nature and origin, he has become an authority. He does not think that the conscience is an independent faculty of the mind, coordinate with the intellect, sensibility, and will, but that in all phenomena of the conscience these three work together. Nevertheless, the fundamental original element of the conscience is feeling—feeling aroused by the perception of conduct in connection with motive. Thought and will appropriate to themselves these feelings, so that a judgment is passed as

to the commendability or condemnability of each act, and a purpose to assist or hinder, to participate in or avoid, the act in the future. So far as the purpose is concerned it is the result of the claim on the part of these feelings to unconditional obedience. Elsenhans thinks that the ordinary theories of the conscience are insufficient to explain its phenomena. He believes that it is necessary to assume the germ of conscience to be a natural endowment. Otherwise, he cannot explain the peculiarity of the phenomena in individuals and the uniformity of these phenomena in history. This natural endowment is like the instinct in animals in the immediateness with which it makes itself felt as a motive in particular instances. But it is limited to such actions as have to do with the weal or woe of the individual or of society. He is of the opinion that this endowment becomes more and more powerful and fine with each advance in culture of one generation after another, and that it is transmitted, like other endowments, from parent to child. It is questionable, however, whether there is anything more transmitted than an increased development of ethical knowledge and judgment, and this cannot be transmitted from parent to child, but only from one generation to another. Elsenhans thinks that without this transmitted, cultivated endowment we could not explain how the individual could rise in a few decades to the highest point of moral development. But this can be explained better on the supposition that each generation begins with a more correct estimate of right and wrong than that which preceded it. Yet it must be confessed that in many instances the usual laws of heredity seem to apply to the conscience as to other traits.

Arnold E. Berger. The study of Luther and the German Reformation has occupied many minds in recent years, especially Köstlin and Kolde. And now Berger has won a place alongside of these greatest names by his works on Luther. He boldly asserts that the biographers of Luther have failed hitherto to avoid the influence of the confessional standpoint of the writer, and to present the reformer in his relation to the culture of the period. Berger regards Luther as a religious genius, and at the same time a special product of the culture of the Middle Ages, at the close of which he appeared. These aspects of Luther's life are not new, but Berger has given them a new emphasis. Perhaps he has not altogether succeeded in giving a purely unbiased and objective representation of Luther's life. Even if he has escaped the influence of religious prejudice he has certainly not been free from the bias of his purpose to present Luther in relation to the culture of the Middle Ages. For he has by this attempt given us a one-sided view of the reformer and the Reformation. There are some men who cannot be fitted into their times, but who alter the times in which they live to conform to their personality. Luther was one of these men. To deny this is to deny him the vocation of the reformer, and by implication, therefore, to deny altogether the existence of personal reformers, and to make all reforms the unavoidable result of general historical movement. In the case of Luther, at least, it is not difficult to see

how his personal endowment contradicted the conditions of the times which existed previous to and contemporary with him. He was rather a genius who produced than himself a product. There were thousands of men who were the product of their age and the preceding ages. It was Luther's distinctive recoil from the entire culture of the period which adapted him to the work which he did. He was too original and independent for a product. In these things he stood alone. He had many followers and imitators, but no peers. The elements of character which he drew from the past and from his environments were those which he had in common with his contemporaries. We suspect that the explanation which may be given of Luther's personality and work must be, either that he was, as to his mentality, almost a freak of nature, or else that he was the appointed and sent of God. We choose the latter view.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"La philosophie d' Ernest Renan." By Raoul Allier. (Paris, Germer Baillière et Cie., 1895.) Although Renan has been thought of only as an historian and a critic, yet he is here considered as having held and taught certain distinct philosophical opinions. A profound philosopher he certainly never was, as he was not a profound historian. Allier shows that Renan's philosophical opinions were controlled entirely by his views of history. To him history was merely an endless change in the development of mankind. As an historian he approached the works of the great philosophers, but failed to consider their fundamental-critical and speculative views. He found nothing in their writings except what he had already believed, namely, that there is nothing fixed or certain, and that therefore everyone is at liberty to take whatever view of the world he may please. Allier sets forth Renan's view as an evolutionary pantheism, the materials for which he gathered from all sources, without any attempt to test their worth. As to his ethical opinions, Allier says that they were at first not without a certain elevation, but that he gradually fell into the consequences of his own view, that the only thing permanent and universal is change, and hence everyone is free to find his highest good where he can: in art, if he is capable of it; in drunkenness, if he can do nothing else. Politically he held that the average man is not an end in himself, because his personality is of too little account. He is only a means to another end, namely, the State. Hence his preference for the aristocratic form of government. Religiously he never was able to see the connection between religion and morals, and hence it was possible for him to caricature the life of Jesus, and yet to bow in reverence before him. To him religion meant nothing else than a refined sort of mystical revelry. When one considers that Renan was brought up to reverence authority as understood by the Roman Catholic Church it is scarcely a wonder that his opinions reacted to the other extreme when he broke away from his original destination for the Church. Had the revolt from

Roman Catholic authority been prompted by his religious needs instead of by his taste for historical studies, however, he would not have adopted such false and pessimistic views. With all his brilliancy of intellect one can scarcely refrain from the question whether there was not in him a tinge of insanity.

"Das Verhältnis der menschlichen Willensfreiheit zur Gotteslehre bei Martin Luther und Huldreich Zwingli" (The Relation of the Freedom of the Human Will to the Doctrine of God according to Martin Luther and Ulric Zwingli). By Max Staub. (Zurich, Leemann, 1894.) Luther and Zwingli occupy the thought of the civilized world but little less to-day than they did in the sixteenth century. Gradually, however, Zwingli is rising in the estimation of the majority of theologians. Staub finds Luther's doctrine of the bondage of the will and predestination to be the result of his desire to maintain the absolute want of merit of all human activity, and partly of his nominalistic scholasticism, from which he never became wholly free. Not only, according to Luther, was man not free, but God chose or predestinated some to salvation and left others to perish. Luther did not hold that God chose men to pious lives and so to salvation, or to impious lives and thus to damnation, but that in his eternal councils God chose some to heavenly bliss and left others to future misery. This, Staub thinks, is destructive of the foundations of evangelical faith, and is not Christianity, but materialism, a severe judgment, certainly, though perhaps justifiable. Zwingli sought to reconcile two irreconcilable views of God—the antique-pantheistic and the biblical-personal. This he reached by the illogical and unethical mixture of the two gods by means of the doctrine of a particular providence, which, however, in the case of Zwingli was not unethical, since it did not make salvation dependent upon the eternal council of God, but upon an appropriate ethical condition of life, which was conditioned by predestination. Staub regards this view as unscriptural, but because it is ethically acceptable it saved Zwingli from falling into the materialism of Luther. Perhaps our author should have taken somewhat into account the fact that Zwingli approached the subject with a view to its systematic treatment, while Luther's purpose, especially as exhibited in his "*de servo arbitrio*," was to counteract the lax Roman doctrines as represented by Erasmus's attack upon Luther. Zwingli's views could hardly be accepted by any thoughtful philosopher or theologian of to-day, although they are apparently much more mild than Luther's.

"La Vue future d'apres Saint Paul" (Eschatology of Saint Paul). By C. Bruston. (Paris, Fischbacher, 1895.) As a study of the possible modification of Saint Paul's eschatological views this little book is of high interest. It was elicited by an article of Sabatier in the *Revue Chrétienne* and its answer by Godet in the same magazine. Sabatier saw in 2 Cor. v, 1–10, a change from the views of Saint Paul as expressed in First Corinthians. In the first letter he connected the resurrection with the im-

pending second advent of Christ. In the second letter he holds that the believer enters immediately upon the pneumatic life at death. The thought of the sleep of the soul had been held in check by the expectation of the early *parusia*. Now, when Paul was looking death in the face, that danger confronted him in all its terror. He could not believe that his Lord would allow him to be more perfectly separated from him, even for a brief space of time after death, than he had been in this life. Nor could Paul believe that the forces which were at work preparing the believer for the heavenly body would cease after death, as they must, on the supposition of the sleep of the soul. But this doctrine of the immediate entrance of the believer upon his heavenly communion with Christ destroyed the doctrine of a common judgment day and resurrection. In reply Godet asserts that there was no such change in the belief of Paul, since in his later letters he was still expecting the coming of the Lord. When Paul, in 2 Cor. v, 1, says, "We have a building of God," he is thinking of something not realized, but to be realized. Bruston holds that Paul did not change his views, although there were certain variations of expression. But he sees in 2 Cor. v the doctrine that the soul is clothed immediately after death with its spiritual body, and reconciles the apparent divergence of Paul's expressions by the supposition that the resurrection of the dead which Paul taught in connection with the *parusia* was only the public revelation of the fact that the souls of the believers had from the moment of death been clothed upon with the house which is from heaven. To one who holds that Paul's eschatological views were the product of his own reflection Sabatier's idea would not be offensive. Bruston's explanation is artificial; nevertheless Godet's attempt at harmonization does not seem satisfactory.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

A New Method of Treating the Old and New Testament Writings. It has long been felt that the ordinary method of treating biblical literature was unscientific and unsatisfactory. Each "introduction" has contented itself with laying before its readers the books of the Bible one by one and giving a history of their criticism, and each author has felt it necessary to do a little criticising on his own account, in order to show that he was an independent and original investigator. For the purpose of exercising the student in criticism such a method is excellent in the class room. It cultivates a critical and analytical habit of mind, without which there can be no clear thinking on any subject. But when the work is ended there is nothing to show for it except a mass of material which lacks all the elements of history. It is the rough stone just from the quarry; it is not even dressed and fitted to be placed in the edifice to be erected. In fact, it is this erection of the edifice instead of the never-ending accumulation of material which constitutes the latest novelty in the treatment of the books of the Bible. It is now proposed to write histories of

Biblical literature just as we have histories of any other literature. It is by no means the intention to do away with criticism, but it is the plan to make criticism subsidiary to the writing of literary history. Perhaps the name which this new "discipline" will take may be "Critical-Biblical Literary History." It certainly must prove a relief from the monotonous thud of the "introduction" as it falls from the press. Something is gained when the advance is made from analysis to construction. Greater interest will be felt by the reader, and he will be able to gain a clearer idea of the sum total of critical results and to judge better of the effects of criticism upon faith. It is natural that the history of the Old Testament literature should begin to be written in the light of the newer investigation, for the same has been several times done for the secular and ethical-religious history of the Jews. On the supposition, too, that many will accept the results of the higher criticism in their public teaching and private thinking, the change from the appearance of criticism, which is always more or less destructive and negative, to history, which is of necessity constructive, and at least in some degree positive, will be beneficial. Instead of a constant controversy with past ideas there will be the presentation of the supposed truth as it is now discovered to be. Edward Reuss, as early as 1881, undertook to write the Old Testament literary history in connection with Jewish political history; and from 1892 to 1894 repeated the attempt, together with a translation into German of the books of the Old Testament. It was done in elegant style, but it reflected rather Reuss's own impressions of the literature than the facts concerning the literature itself. In 1893 a Dutch theologian, Dr. G. Wildebaer, published a work entitled *The Books of the Old Testament in the Order of their Origin.* The title promises nothing more than a list of the Old Testament books in chronological order; but for this a book of 330 pages is not necessary, and so we find much more than the title causes us to anticipate. He begins with the Old Testament fragments of the wandering and settlement in Canaan. Then follow the literary remains of the time of Judges, David and Solomon; the historical traditions, and oldest written notices of historical events and earliest books of the law. From this he passes on to the supposed earliest of the biblical books, namely, Amos and Hosea. Then come Micah and Isaiah, Deuteronomy, Zephaniah, Nahum, Jeremiah, and Habakkuk; then Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah i–viii, Lamentations and Obadiah, the Priests' Codex and the Hexateuch, Malachi, Jonah, Ruth, Joel, Isaiah xxiv–xxvii, Zechariah ix–xiv, Proverbs, Job, the Psalter, Chronicles, Solomon's Song, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, and Esther. Even so brief a mention of the new order of the chronological arrangement of the books of the Old Testament as that just given shows what an immense gain in clearness follows from the employment of the historical as distinguished from the critical-introduction method. That a history of the Old Testament literature can be written is also a clear evidence that criticism has reached what it regards as practically final and generally (that is, among critics) accepted conclusions. We may assure ourselves that for a time at least

"advances" will not be forthcoming. The method will have a restraining effect upon critics of individual books, whose works must fit henceforth into the scheme of history, and not stand alone, as heretofore.

The Newly Discovered Syriac Codex and the Virgin Birth. Just what effect the famous discovery by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson will have on the reading of many New Testament passages cannot now be known. At the present time an interesting, not to say important, discussion is in progress which we shall give in brief. This Sinaitic Syriac gives the three times fourteen generations of the first chapter of Matthew, including the statement that "Jacob begat Joseph." In this the new Syriac differs from the Diatessaron of Tatian, who omits the register both of Matthew and Luke, probably as unworthy of the divine origin of our Lord. But instead of the words, "Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ," in Matt. i, 16, the Syriac says, "Joseph, to whom Mary the virgin was betrothed, begat Jesus, who is called Christ." This reading, which appears to exclude the virgin birth of our Lord, corresponds to variations in chap. i, 21, where the reading is, "She shall bear *thee* a son," and in i, 25, where the words, "And knew her not till," are entirely omitted, and instead we read, "And he married his betrothed wife, and she bear him a son, and he called his name Jesus." These modifications seem to be the offspring of an effort to construct the history of Christ's birth according to Ebionitic anti-Catholic notions, and to represent our Lord as the physical son of Joseph. The negative critics hail these variations with delight, and would gladly regard them as the original and only authentic text of that portion of Matthew. Even Conybeare adopts this view, together with other English and continental critics. It is a question which cannot be settled by an appeal to preferences or preconceptions. That the copies of the gospels were sometimes violently tampered with in those early days in the interest of dogma no one acquainted with the facts will deny. The question, "In the interest of what dogma was the alteration made?" must be settled by purely objective critical means and methods. More study of the new codex than the time since its discovery has admitted will be required before any important changes in our faith can be safely based upon its peculiar readings. For this reason, if for no other, it would be extremely unwise to depend too much upon its utterances concerning the origin of Jesus. It would need to be proved a very early and most trustworthy codex to overturn in this particular, or in any other, the harmonious testimony of other codices. But in the codex itself, when examined a little more closely, are evidences that the version in question purposely varied from the original from which it was translated or copied. In Luke iii, 23, the new codex coincides essentially with our text, reading, "But Jesus, being about thirty years old, called, as he was, a son of Joseph," showing that the original copy held Jesus to be not the real but the reputed son of Joseph, contrary to its own language in Matt. i, 16. Again, in Matt. i, 16–25, there are utterances which have been allowed to stand which

appear as confirmatory of the canonical and contradictory of the Syriac text. For example, in verse 18 the reading is, "The birth of Jesus took place as follows: As Mary, his mother, to whom Joseph was betrothed, before he married her, discovered that she was with child of the Holy Ghost." Even in verse 16, where these Ebionitic alterations begin, Mary is not called Joseph's wife, but the "virgin who was betrothed to him." It is perfectly evident that the readings of this codex contradict one another in this matter. There is enough variation to show the tendency of the copyist; but there is too little to obliterate the evidence that the copyist did violence to the text before him. If one were to study every expression concerning the birth of Jesus found in the new codex it would be difficult to tell whether it teaches the supernatural or the natural conception. Very certain it is that, whatever anyone may dogmatically hold, the words "conceived by the Holy Ghost" cannot be rejected as primitively Christian and unapostolic on the ground of anything in the Sinaitic Syriac. Furthermore, it is clear that so far as the evidence from the manuscripts, versions, and fathers is concerned the preponderance is in favor of the virgin birth of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Latest Congress of Socialists. Breslau, Germany, was recently the scene of one of the tamest socialistic congresses ever held in the Fatherland. The leaders of the party of moderation were detained by sickness, but the radical leaders did not take advantage of their absence to carry through their ideas. Perhaps it was on account of the fear that a division in the socialistic ranks would ensue. There was a good deal of extravagant talk, but the police authorities of the city took care that nothing should occur of a treasonable character, and nothing which could unduly excite the populace. The meeting of the congress revealed the fact that the attempt to win the peasantry had proved a failure. Every peasant who owns a little spot of land is thereby held at a distance from the socialists, for if he is to be a pure social democrat he dare not own any real estate whatever. This builds an inseparable barrier between the peasants and the socialists.

The Hospital in Jerusalem. For forty years the deaconesses of Kaiserwerth have been at work in the Holy City. In the orphanage about one hundred and twenty Arabian girls are daily instructed and educated, who later go out as housekeepers, teachers, deaconesses, or servants. The hospital is situated on Mount Zion, where, during the last ten years, 5,840 patients of all confessions of faith have been treated, while treatment in some form has been given to 77,165 persons. The people are so poor that all this service has to be entirely free. The city is very unhealthy, and the hospital has for years proved too small. Hence it is proposed to locate the new hospital in a more healthy portion of the city, and to provide more commodious buildings. About $10,000 has been collected for this purpose. The old hospital is estimated to be worth about $12,000, and $15,000 more will be needed to finish the work.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for October has as its table of contents: 1. "A History of Spain," by Ulick Burke; 2. "The House of Annandale;" 3. "Crimean Letters;" 4. "Shells and Molluscs;" 5. "Memoirs of Barras;" 6. "Argon and Helium;" 7. "Life of Sir Fitzjames Stephen;" 8. "Mediæval Cyprus;" 9. "Recent Musical Criticism;" 10. "The French in Madagascar;" 11. "Politics, Parties, and Imperial Defense." Of the first book under notice the reviewer says: "We have followed Mr. Burke's interesting volumes mainly as a guide to the political history of the country, with a view to trace the growth of Spain from very small beginnings into a mighty kingdom. But Mr. Burke has set forth much besides this. He has passed in review the history of Spanish literature, music, art, architecture, and much more, which our space permits us only thus briefly to refer to. It is all most interesting; it is all admirably told." In "Crimean Letters" the reader finds a grouping of the thrilling reminiscences of some of the participants in the great struggle before Sebastopol. The criticism of the reviewer on the "Memoirs of Barras" is keen and severe. With reasons for his judgment which there is not space to quote in full, the writer says: "As in the case of Talleyrand's *Memoirs*, the true student of history, if we mistake not, will be much disappointed with these volumes. . . . As a narrative it is meager, shallow, and poor; it is almost wholly devoid of description; it swarms with misstatements and downright falsehoods; it is a tissue of misrepresentation in at least a dozen chapters." Two new gases of "exceptional properties" are introduced to the reader in the sixth article. That the period of decadence in an art "is always the period at which criticism and discussion as to its conditions are most rife" is the claim made in "Recent Musical Criticism." And "at this point we seem now to have arrived in the art of music." Following this is a notice of recent musical discussions by C. Hubert H. Parry, Richard Wallaschek, H. Ellis Wooldridge, W. H. Hadow, J. A. Fuller Maitland, and Arthur Hervey; also reminiscences of Wagner by H. T. Finck, Ferdinand Praeger, and J. S. Shedlock.

ANYONE less deserving than the late Edward A. Freeman would stagger under such a eulogy as that pronounced by the *Yale Review* for November in its article on "Freeman, the Scholar and Professor." The subject of its memorial notice is ranked among the encyclopedic scholars of the times, as follows: "He was an historical geographer, a humanist, a philologist, an archæologist, a specialist in architecture, an accomplished journalist, a literary critic, an historian, and a politician in the best Greek sense." H. B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins, is the author of the paper. The other articles are: "An Interoceanic Canal in the Light of Precedent,"

by Theodore S. Woolsey; "The Early Political Organization of Mexico," by Bernard Moses; "The Economic Reforms of the Late English Liberal Administration," by Edward Porritt; "The Referendum, and other Forms of Direct Democracy in Switzerland," by E. V. Raynolds; and "The French Revolution—The Work of the Committees of Legislation and Public Instruction in the Convention," by H. M. Stephens.

THE table of contents in the December number of the *North American* is most attractive. "The Work of the Next Congress" is discussed by M. W. Hazeltine, and Representatives Catchings, Southwick, and Bell. The Venezuela controversy and the monetary situation are suggested by these experts in national affairs as some of the pressing questions for consideration. Mrs. Lynn Linton follows with a running comment on some of the present "Cranks and Crazes." In "The Last Gift of the Century" N. S. Shaler would have Congress invite the first-class powers of the world to send delegates to a conference at Washington, in January, 1897, in the interest of international arbitration and the suppression of warfare. "How London Deals with Beggars," by Lord Norton, shows a growth in the wise administration of charity in that great metropolis which should be an instructive lesson to every city perplexed with the problem of pauperism. The Hon. J. W. Foster follows with "Results of the Behring Sea Arbitration." At the recent Church Congress in Norwich, England, says Goldwin Smith, "a bold and honorable attempt" was made by Professor Bonney "to cast a millstone off the neck of Christianity by frankly renouncing belief in the historical character of the earlier books of the Bible." Entitling his article "Christianity's Millstone," Professor Smith, from this initial utterance, proceeds to a notice of some of the difficulties of Old Testament historical interpretation which is both able and liberal. In settling the many theological questions which still wait decision, "thought," he declares, "must be entirely free." A. S. White next shows "Our Benefits from the Nicaragua Canal;" A. D. Vandam writes "Personal History of the Second Empire—XII. The End of the Empire;" and Dr. Louis Robinson contributes his fourth paper on "Wild Traits in Tame Animals." The concluding article, by Sir Reginald F. D. Palgrave, on "The House of Representatives and the House of Commons," continues the comparison between these bodies which has been begun by Mr. Herbert and Mr. Taylor in previous numbers of the *North American Review*. Its writer is himself the present clerk of the House of Commons.

THE November (1895) number of the *Methodist Review* (Nashville, Tenn.) has an excellent table of contents. Professor Morgan Calloway, Jr., has a discriminating article on "The Poetry of Sidney Lanier;" Professor John S. Bassett a "Study of Frederick W. Robertson;" Chaplain W. H. Milburn an interesting sketch and just tribute to the life and character of Bishop Enoch Mather Marvin; Dr. H. M. Du Bose a paper on "Authority in Art

and Religion;" Dr. J. E. Godbey a discussion of the question whether fasting as a religious exercise is enjoined by the Bible. There is also an installment of the editor's historical studies in the making of Methodism. The ability and enterprise of Dr. Tigert's editorship are increasingly manifest in each succeeding number. The editor comments at length upon Bishop Thoburn's article on "Methodist Episcopacy in Transition." Some of its criticisms, coming from an outside source, suggest the propriety of sober reflection inside. We quote: "The disregard of the constitution of the Church, so frequently and strikingly characteristic of the attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church in measures connected with the episcopacy is rather startlingly illustrated by the bishop's proposal to change the 'plan of our itinerant general superintendency' by General Conference action alone. Should the General Conference see fit to act on his advice it would but afford an illustration of the power of that body to ride roughshod over the Annual Conferences and the bishops, the constitution, and the Church. It is not strange that some in the Methodist Episcopal Church, 'who stand high enough to give their words a wide range of influence,' have said that 'the General Conference will become more and more an unsettling and disturbing element in the Church.' Many thoughtful men in our sister Church breathe easier when the quadrennial sessions are over. . . . The good missionary bishop concludes that the General Conference of 1896 ought to relieve the bishops of the task of making out their annual plan and to make out a quadrennial one for them—that is, to 'district' the general superintendents quadrennially by a majority vote of the General Conference! Shades of Asbury and McKendree! Has it come to this? We say not a word now as to the wisdom of the scheme. But here is no suggestion of referring the proposed modification of the 'plan' to the Annual Conference. The General Conference, in case the question of its power in the premises is raised, has only by a majority vote to decide that the new plan does not infringe the third restrictive rule, and presto! change! In a moment Joshua Soule's 'itinerant general superintendency' is transformed into a 'quadrennial diocesan episcopacy,' and the omnipotent General Conference moves on with no further attention to the matter. Seriously, with all our love and admiration for our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it is the *sang-froid* with which just such proposals for revolutionary changes emanate from the most respectable sources that makes us draw back from any suggestion of organic union. As matters now stand, such union is simply impossible. . . . We might differ materially with Bishop Thoburn as to the best method of putting up all the working machinery of Methodism, including the episcopacy, on our foreign missionary fields. Evidently this 'missionary bishop' is not wholly satisfied with the plan adopted in his and Bishop Taylor's case. The missionary episcopate is too 'diocesan;' the itinerant general superintendency is not enough 'diocesan;' and so each must be moved toward the other until they meet in a quadrennial diocesan episcopacy, thus leaving (and here seems to be the milk in Bishop Thoburn's cocoanut) the mis-

sionary bishops and the general superintendents on exactly the same level." This is how the matter looks to a disinterested outsider.

The *New World* for December contains the following table of contents: "Tendencies of Thought in Modern Judaism," by David Philipson; "The Miracles of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels," by Albert Réville; "The Anabaptists," by W. E. Griffis; "The Pseudo-Athanasian Augustinianism," by Levi L. Paine; "Tito Melema," by Julia H. Gulliver; "Popular Protestant Controversy," by C. C. Starbuck; "Local Cults in Homer," by Arthur Fairbanks; "The Nomadic Ideal in the Old Testament," by Karl Budde; and the usual list of book reviews.

The changed form of *Christian Literature* is in the line of improvement. The December number of the publication has among other quoted articles: "Bishop Butler and his Censors. I," by W. E. Gladstone; "Why Be Religious?" by Marcus Dods; "The Pulpit and Social Reform," by Washington Gladden; "Theology in the University and in the Seminary," by A. M. Fairbairn; and "The Rigidity of Rome," by Wilfrid Ward.——The October number of the *American Catholic Quarterly* opens with "The Evolution of Evolution," by St. George Mivart, F.R.S. "The School Question in Manitoba" is written by J. S. Ewart; and "The Outlook for Ireland," by B. J. Clinche.——The *Methodist Magazine* for December has, among an attractive list of articles, "Petra, the Rock City of Edom," compiled by Dr. Withrow; "Britain's Keys of Empire—Gibraltar;" and "Footprints of Luther," by John Stoughton, D.D. All are illustrated. There are also short papers included by Bishop Foster on "Rum's Arraignment," and on "Time," by Bishop Warren. ——The *Treasury* for December has as its leading sermon a discourse by J. T. Wightman, D.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and pastor in Baltimore, Md.——In the *Preachers' Magazine* for December are sermons by Dr. C. A. A. Berry and Mark Guy Pearse. The various departments of the issue are well sustained. Dr. W. E. Ketcham is the editor.——The *Catholic World* for December has "Armenia, Past and Present," by Henry Hyvernat, D.D.——The *Chautauquan* for December opens with an attractive illustrated article by Ruth Shaffner on "Iceland and its People." Another illustrated article of unusual interest is by Fred Grundy on "Student Life at Oxford, England." In short, the magazine is crowded with good things.——*Our Day* has among its papers a character sketch of Dr. Albert Shaw, showing how a man of force has early come to leadership.——The *Homiletic Review* for December includes among its "Representative Sermons" a discourse by Dean Farrar on "An Ideal Rule of Life;" one by Dr. James Stalker on "The State of the Unsaved;" and one by Andrew Murray, of South Africa, on "Christ and Abundance of Life."——The *American Kitchen Magazine* is a superior publication of its class. Housewives will find much of importance in its attractive pages for December.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Religious Doubt. Its Nature, Treatment, Causes, Difficulties, Consequences, and Dissolution. By Rev. JOHN W. DIGGLE, M.A., Vicar of Mossley Hill, etc. 12mo, pp. 371. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

In his preface the author, who reasons largely from his own experience of religious doubt, states his purpose thus: "On the one hand I have sought to persuade believers to treat religious doubt with large-mindedness and in a Christian temper; and on the other, to persuade doubters not to be content with doubting, but to examine vigorously into the causes of their doubts, to confront steadily the great difficulties besetting doubt—difficulties often greater than those of belief—and to consider fairly the methods suggested for dissolving their doubts, and for attaining that degree of spiritual health and strength which is essential to clear and constant faith." This purpose he closely pursues and ably fulfills. He begins by appealing for charity toward honest doubt, much of it being involuntary and distressing; and supports this appeal by the example set by Christ. He points out that the differences among Christians, even on very important matters, are often greater than those between believers and many doubters. The timid and fretful intolerance of some Christians toward doubt is attributed in part to three causes: the fact that these Christians are not sure of their ground, do not really know whom they have believed, and are not able to give reasons for the hope that is in them; the failure to distinguish what is essential to Christianity from what is nonessential, the greater part of doubt being directed, not against the essential teachings of Christ but against the traditions and opinions of men, the theories and interpretations which dogmatists, with more bravery than truth, declare to be essential; and, thirdly, the bitter, contemptuous, flippant, or belligerent temper of some classes of skeptics. As to the general causes of modern doubt the author names, first, the great growth of full assurance in matters not distinctively religious, the application of scientific methods in various departments having extended the range of positive knowledge and multiplied the certainties possessed by the mind, this progress creating a desire and a demand for proof experimental and positive in all things, including religion. He names, second, the failure of many persons to remember to what extent practical human life in all its ramifications proceeds on faith, is an unending series of actions on trust, and the consequent failure to see that it is quite unreasonable to refuse to proceed in part on trust in matters of religion. He names, third, an apparent personal incapacity to believe. There are doubters by disposition, not toward religion alone, but of things in general—Thomases who will not believe unless they see and handle; distrust is instinctive with them; they see difficulties, are fertile in objections, want everything explained,

proved, reasoned out. He names, fourth, the natural indifference felt by many persons toward religion. He names, fifth, indulgence in sin as lying unconfessed at the root of a considerable part of religious doubt and real or pretended disbelief; and this may be even when the individual is not definitely conscious that his unbelief is the consequence of his sins. He names, sixth, the bitter perplexity into which many are thrown by the ordinary course of events, and the bewildering problems of human life; by the seeming cruelties of nature, the inequalities of fortune, the calamities of life, the burdens of the heavy-laden, and the tears of the broken-hearted. He names, seventh, the undiscriminating sternness and severity of over-dogmatic and intolerant Christians toward all doubt and doubters; honest questionings are treated as tantamount to sin. This harshness of spirit is illustrated in the minatory sentences of the Athanasian Creed, which denounce all who do not accept certain highly metaphysical propositions concerning the unsearchable nature of the mystery of the Trinity. This same spirit breathes in the decrees of the Council of Trent, the Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland, and the tone and temper of some modern pulpits. He names, eighth, the common confusing of the very essence of Christianity with its mere traditions and accidents, of the kernel with the husk, of Christ's simple Gospel with scholastic accretions, of the revelation of God with the traditions of men; in consequence of which in time of assault many imagine that the citadel of the faith has been destroyed by the enemy when only some humanly constructed outwork has been carried. When the geocentric theory of the solar system was overthrown the planets were not proved unreal nor the science of astronomy invalidated. There is urgent need of a broad and clear demarcation between essentials and nonessentials. This will diminish the number of sects and speed the unification of Christendom. Theories of inspiration should not be put on a level with the substance of the inspired teachings, nor the form of a sacrament with the meaning and effect thereof, nor metaphysical subtleties with the clear, practical teachings of our Saviour's lips or the plain facts of his life, nor the logic of theologians with the direct and unmistakable commands of God, nor the dogmas of the schools with the fundamental and undeniable doctrines of the Scriptures. Nobody has ever made much headway in doubting, or secured many listeners in denying, the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, or the Lord's Prayer, nor other things of similar self-evidencing character in which Christianity is rich and strong. He names, ninth, as a producing cause of doubt, the unworthy lives of many professing Christians; the lack of pure and elevated character; meanness, avariciousness, frivolousness, uncharitableness, enviousness, grossness, untrustworthiness, selfishness, inveracity. These things are stumbling-blocks to many notwithstanding it is clearly unjust as well as stupid to judge Christianity by these exceedingly unchristian professors. He names, tenth, the neglect of doubters to make any effort to prune their doubts or cultivate their faith, or to put themselves in an atmosphere favorable to belief. They read the wrong books and magazines; they hear attacks upon

the Bible but do not study it; they do not frequent the places, nor seek the associations, in which doubt might be dispelled and faith fostered; they patronize schools, seminaries, and universities exclusively secular, where no religious influence is in the atmosphere and attention is never directed to the realities known to faith, the result being a godless education and the spread of apathy and disbelief. Among subsidiary causes of doubt he mentions the growth of the critical spirit which chills fervor, checks emotion, and paralyzes the sentiments of reverence and worship; shallow and bumptious self-conceit and silly ambition to appear smart and independent; the false notion that we can or ought to understand everything; the supposition that, if the doctrines of Christianity are essential to salvation, they ought to be of such a nature that we could not resist or doubt them: worldliness, luxury, and self-indulgence. But the greatest cause of doubt, or lack of belief, according to this author, is what he calls the Law of the Limitation of Force, by which he means that there is in every man a certain fixed amount of force, a limited capacity of absorption; a limited power of taking interest in things. If a man's whole force is spent upon things outside religion, even though many of those things may be innocent or important in themselves, there is no force left to be bestowed on spiritual things, and the result is either total irreligion or a very feeble hold on religious things and a lack of convictions or definite beliefs. The lack of religious interest in individuals and communities is often explicable by the absorption in other affairs which consume the whole time, attention, and force; and this condition of things breeds ignorance, indifference, and unbelief toward spiritual realities. After a chapter on the difficulties attending religious doubt, and another on the consequences of it, the author proceeds to his most congenial task and his most successful effort in the long and useful chapter on "The Victory over Doubt." For conquering doubt the first thing he emphasizes is the importance of not growing morbid over doubts. These cond is the realization that our doubts are neither new nor original. The third is an enlightened perception of the inconceivable vastness of created things. The fourth is the cultivation of simple conceptions of religion. The fifth is the pursuit of goodness. Mrs. Stowe said, "The best way to get rid of doubts in religion is to go and practice what we don't doubt." Alexander Dumas said, "Genius cannot explain God, but goodness proves him." Reverent obedience to conscience is a most effectual means for promoting and strengthening faith. The determination to do right prayerfully will lead to the peace of God and the light of clear convictions. The best way of understanding religion is to practice it. It cannot be wholly proved by argument; the way to grasp its reality is to take it into our hearts and test it and prove it by living it. The author's sixth prescription for removing doubt is the confession by intelligent Christians of the many difficulties left unsolved even by faith. Christianity does not pretend to solve all the riddles of the human mind and heart. Christ left many questions unilluminated and unnoticed. Darkness and mystery are about our lot and path, and to a large degree God hides himself. Attempts

to demonstrate the indemonstrable, or explain the inexplicable, fail and only intensify the doubts of the thoughtful. It is better frankly to confess our ignorance of many things than to pretend to a knowledge we have not. The seventh aid for overcoming doubt in the world is the manifestation of spirituality, zeal, power, and all evidences of strong conviction on the part of the Christian Church. [If the Church is too much identified with, and controlled by, the State it is likely to be secularized and unspiritualized. If religion appears as nothing more than a selfish desire for personal salvation, a prudential insurance against hell, it will not command respect.] The eighth method by which the Church may diminish doubt is by that liberality of spirit and largeness of heart which naturally goes with true spirituality. Ninth, the learning of the truth in religion, as in everything else, requires effort on the part of the learner. Tenth, the exercise of the will is necessary to put ourselves among the associations and under the influences and in reach of the teachings best adapted to develop and encourage faith. Eleventh, the refusal to be so completely absorbed and consumed by other things as to have no time or attention to give to the affairs of the soul. Twelfth, the most important of all requisites for winning the victory over doubt is the assiduous cultivation of the spiritual faculties. For this cultivation three things are primarily necessary: first, the distinct acknowledgment of God as the primal source of man's spiritual nature; second, remembrance of the fact that spiritual air, spiritual nourishment, and spiritual exercise are necessary for the life and growth of the spiritual nature of man; and, third, patient and painstaking attention to spiritual truths and facts. "Hardly any faculty is more important," said Bishop Butler, "for the intellectual progress of man, than attention." It is equally necessary for spiritual progress and a clear knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ. A good index finishes the book, which will be seen, from our meager analysis of parts of it, to be an intelligent and effective treatment of its subject.

Literature of Theology. A Classified Bibliography of Theological and General Religious Literature. By JOHN FLETCHER HURST. 8vo, pp. 757. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $4.

It is only the broadest and most experienced scholarship that can survey the whole field of existing literature in any department of knowledge, perceive the one thing which is lacking to complete that literature, or to make the huge mass thereof quickly accessible and available, and confer a new and original benefit upon mankind by supplying the thing which has been lacking. This is what Bishop Hurst has done in the volume before us. It is a classified and exhaustive list of the best and most desirable books in theology and general religious literature, published up to date in Great Britain, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada, giving the size of each book, when, where, and by whom published, and the price. Bishop Hurst's *Bibliotheca Theologica*, issued in 1882, is out of print. The present work, similar in character, is altogether superior in scope and magnitude, in accuracy, fullness, and practical convenience.

Some of the considerations which have impelled the author to undertake the great labor involved in the preparation of this book are indicated by him in the Preface: "That the average library of the Christian layman and of the minister of the Gospel is poor beyond words is a lamentable fact. Many of the books are of such inferior authorship as to unfit them for even storage in any home of people either intelligent or hoping to be intelligent. Such books have drifted in because they are radiant with glaring and realistic pictures, or are bound in captivating sheep or calf, or are presented by well-meaning friends, or have been bought in lots at auction under the hallucination of cheapness, or because of some other apology for the existence of the trash. If two thirds of the shelves of the typical domestic library were emptied of their burden, and choice books put in their stead, there would be a reformation in intelligence and thought throughout the civilized world. A poor book is dear, and a good one cheap, at any cost. One's best book is that which treats best the subject on which one most needs light, and which one can get only by planning, by seeking, and often by sacrificing. One such book is worth more than all the diamonds of Golconda or the pearls of Tuticorin, and sweeter than all the perfumes of Araby the Blest. It is a friend for all seasons, and remains true to the eighties and beyond, if they come. Better one shelf of such treasures than a shipload of literary driftings from the dead pyramids of publishers who sell slowly and of authors who fail quickly. The author of the *Literature of Theology* dares not flatter himself that he can persuade many possessors of poor collections of books to reform them; but if he can lead some of those who are forming their libraries, who are looking into the future for the possession of treasures in books, to select well, to buy only the best, and to make a wise search for special information in general libraries, the disappointments and agonies of at least one friend of books, and friend of all who find friends in books, will not have been in vain." Bishop Hurst has rendered, not now by any means for the first time, a great service to the cause of learning and to all students of theological or religious literature. If his book shall be properly brought to the attention of the large and ever-multiplying class who need and would eagerly welcome it, it will be assured a long, large, and general sale, north and south, east and west, in this and in other countries, and among Christians of all denominations. Especially, no young minister of any Church can afford to set out upon the work of gathering a library without the wise guidance of this practical cyclopedia of religious literature. If he goes on without it he will almost certainly waste, in a very short time, double, treble, quadruple, the cost of this book. A word to the wise is sufficient, and we make no special charge for it.

Half-Hours with St. Paul, and Other Bible Readings. By DANIEL STEELE, S.T.D. 12mo, pp. xii, 338. Boston: The Christian Witness Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Dr. Daniel Steele, who has been called our American Fletcher, is one of the most widely known and highly valued writers of modern times on the theme of scriptural holiness, which forms the topic of the present volume,

as of several others from his pen. So it scarcely needs to be said that this book is thoroughly orthodox, highly spiritual, and written out of much fullness of knowledge both of the Bible and of Christian experience. It contains many pages from which it would be pleasant and profitable to quote at length. We must content ourselves with a few sentences: "There are two ways of professing holiness—the wise and the proper way, and the ostentatious and distasteful way. Christ did not say in a bold and offensive style, 'I am perfectly holy.' He might with truth have used these words, but he would have been needlessly beclouding his own humility and laying stumbling-blocks in the way of his hearers. At this point some modern advocates of Christian perfection are at fault. In set phrase they profess more holiness in half an hour than Jesus Christ did in all his life." "Professors of heart purity, especially those who associate themselves together almost exclusively, are in danger of taking on some of these unamiable qualities [tartness, sourness, envy, censoriousness, self-conceit, headstrongness], and of cherishing uncharitable feelings toward those Christians whose weaker wings of faith have not borne them up to the Pisgah tops of grace. As a safeguard against this peril we recommend a frequent and searching self-examination, with this chapter [1 Cor. xiii] as a touchstone." "This sorting of Christians into two kinds, the self-crucified and those in whom self lives, the wholly and the partially sanctified, is a delicate business, for which only an inspired apostle is competent." "Ever-increasing love is ever-increasing spiritual discernment of the true nature, good or bad, of each circumstance, case, or object which experience may present. A sensitively correct moral perception cannot be too highly prized. It is the gift of the Holy Spirit improved and intensified by use. . . . If there is a moral element at the bottom of all these apparently trivial choices it is evident that it is the design of God that we should acquire a spiritual perspicuity sharp enough to discern it." "It is perilous to read more into the divine promises than the spirit of inspiration intended." These cautions are good and greatly needed.

This book is by no means one for the unthinking, who wish only warm exhortation. It is in many respects a very learned volume; Greek words, and quotations from Greek grammars, abound, and a great deal is made of Greek tenses and compounds, of aorists and perfects and prepositions. Dr. Steele's scholarship flourishes luxuriantly in the paths of Greek. As to what that perfection is which can be realized in this life, he says: "I do not think it is an ideal perfection." He calls it "perfect love," and defines that phrase by saying it is to love God with all the heart, mind, and strength. He tells us that love "may be perfect in kind, that is, free from all impurities, but it can never be perfect in degree." "By perfect love we mean pure love. It is perfect in kind, but is capable of infinite increase." The difference in the love, or faith, or holiness of the babe in Christ and the mature Christian is in quantity, not in quality—in degree, not in kind. Wesley states this matter very clearly in his sermon on "Patience," which, being published in 1784, near the close of his life, may be taken to represent his ripest views. He says: "Many persons . . . have

not spoken warily upon this head, not according to the oracles of God. They have spoken of the work of sanctification, taking the word in its full sense, as if it were quite of another kind—as if it differed entirely from that which is wrought in justification. But this is a great and dangerous mistake, and has a natural tendency to make us undervalue that glorious work of God which was wrought in us when we were justified. . . . There is, in that hour, a general change from inward sinfulness to inward holiness. The love of the creature is changed to the love of the Creator; the love of the world into the love of God. Earthly desires . . . are in that instant changed, by the mighty power of God, into heavenly desires. . . . It [entire sanctification] does not imply any new *kind* of holiness—let no man imagine this. Love is the sum of Christian sanctification; it is the one *kind* of holiness which is found, only in various *degrees*, in the believers who are distinguished by St. John into 'little children, young men, and fathers.' . . . In the same proportion as he [the babe in Christ] grows in faith, he grows in holiness; he increases in love, loveliness, meekness, in every part of the image of God." This statement, we think, must commend itself to the sober common sense of most. Divine love is always perfect in kind. The degrees of holiness possessed by a believer, depending on a number of conditions, will vary greatly according to the stage of his progress. But the capacity, as Dr. Steele clearly intimates, is to go on increasing forever. The reputation of the author as a writer upon such topics has secured for this book already a large sale. The fifth thousand in now out.

Why I am Not an Agnostic. By E. D. SMITH, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 55. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. Price, paper, 20 cents.

Dr. Smith is a member of the North Ohio Conference, having come to us from the ministry of the Lutheran Church, in which he was known as a man of mind and scholarship. His little book is a trenchant and forcible reply to a certain peripatetic platform blasphemer's lecture on "Why I am an Agnostic." These five chapters prove the author to be thoroughly familiar with the ground he traverses. His five reasons for not being an agnostic are: First, because the agnostic theory of the origin of life is, according to his experimental method, utterly without any observed facts or experimental results to warrant it; second, because the agnostic's theory of the origin of man is as baseless as his theory of the origin of life; third, because the agnostic will not admit all the conclusions to which he is led on the supposition that his hypothesis is demonstrated or demonstrable; fourth, because the history of the world for sixty centuries has been unfolding under the controlling influence of three great Christian ideas—Freedom, Immortality, and God; fifth, because the orthodox creed is the aggregate of the great truths of the Scriptures, and because the Scriptures themselves set forth their truth on scientific principles. In the five chapters these reasons are amplified and their propositions solidly substantiated with vigor and skill. A more incisive and cogent argument against agnosticism we do not remember to have seen in so small a compass. We heartily commend it.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Unguarded Gates, and Other Poems. By THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH. 12mo, pp. 121. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

W. D. Howells, in *Harper's Monthly* last November, wrote of "Literary Boston Thirty Years Ago." Aldrich was there then, with a ripe literary reputation in prose and verse, as editor of *Every Saturday*. How far it is back to "Baby Bell" and "Marjorie Daw" we do not know; but the years are so many that in the prelude to this latest bundle of verse the poet writes as if he were in sight of the time when the voices, visions, and dreams which came to him in youth and middle life from the sea and the woods, the flowers and the winds, and amid the city's din, may fly and die in the dull and heavy days of age, empty of such music and light and gladness. The little volume before us gives lovely proof that "the flight of the Muse" is yet some way off in the future. Aldrich is a dainty and exquisite artist; not one of those who paint with a broom and think success measured by the amount of acreage one can besmear with violent and vociferous colors, but an artist so deft and delicate that he could "paint, fold for fold, on the limbs of Titania, the woven air of Cashmere." "Unguarded Gates" is a warning against the dangers arising from unrestricted immigration:

> O Liberty, white Goddess! is it well
> To leave the gates unguarded? On thy breast
> Fold Sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate,
> Lift the downtrodden, but with hand of steel
> Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
> To waste the gifts of freedom. Have a care
> Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
> And trampled in the dust. For so of old
> The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome,
> And where the temples of the Cæsars stood
> The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

Here and there in this volume are signs that our poet has not forgotten the Orient, that region of dreams where all things are possible, natural, and permissible, whose charms, mostly imaginary, have fascinated the poets from time immemorial. Aldrich has painted many a rich and dainty picture of the East, among which one always comes back to us when we think of Aldrich or the Orient—that "Prelude" in which he told how Hassan Ben Abdul sat and discoursed at the Ivory Gate of Bagdad, while all manner of persons stopped and drew near to listen—four Arab boys, a water-seller, a jet-black eunuch, a merchandising Jew, a glittering jeweler, and two blind mendicants:

> And if the Khaleef had been riding near,
> He would have stopped to listen like the rest,
> For Hassan's fame was ripe in all the East.
> From white-walled Cairo to far Ispahan,
> From Mecca to Damascus he was known,

Hassan, the Arab with the singing heart.
His songs were sung by boatmen on the Nile,
By Beddowee maidens and in Tartar camps,
While all men loved him as they loved their eyes;
And when he spake, the wisest, next to him,
Was he who listened.

It were easy to show by a hundred quotations from this latest volume of his verse that Aldrich is still Aldrich. Take this about the fire on the hearth:

Along the still damp apple wood
A little flame ran that chirped like a bird—
Some wren's ghost haunting the familiar bough.

Take this picture:

The bleak New England road; the level boughs
Like bars of iron across the setting sun;
The gray, ribbed clouds piled up against the west;
The windows splashed with frost; the firelit room,
And in the antique chair that slight girl-shape,
The auburn braid about the saintly brows
Making a nimbus, and she white as snow.

Take from "White Edith" this about the fate of a young queen who long ago, "in the savage childhood of this world," reigned but for one single day, and then

Ere yet the dawn its gleaming edge lay bare
Like to the burnished ax's subtle edge,
She, from her sleep's caresses roughly torn,
The meek eyes blinking in the torches' glare,
Upon a scaffold for her glory paid
Her cheeks' two roses. For it so befell
That from the Northland there was come a prince,
With a great clash of shields and trailing spears
Through the black portals of the breathless night,
To claim the scepter. He no less would take
Than those same roses for his usury.
What less, in faith! The throne was rightly his
Of that sea-girdled isle; so to the block
Needs go the ringlets and the white swan throat.
A touch of steel, a sudden darkness, then
Blue heaven and all the hymning angel choir.

Saying that Grecian myths and other classic fictions do not beguile him as they did in youth, he writes:

Andromeda, in fetters by the sea,
Star-pale with anguish till young Perseus came,
Less moves me with her suffering than she,
The slim girl figure fettered to dark shame,
That nightly haunts the park, there, like a shade,

Trailing her wretchedness from street to street.
See where she passes—neither wife nor maid.
How all mere fiction crumbles at her feet!
Here is woe's self, and not the mask of woe.

Having been born by the sea in the quaint old town of Portsmouth, N. H., where the scene of his "Story of a Bad Boy" is laid, Aldrich says:

The first world, sound that fell upon my ear
Was that of the great winds along the coast
Crushing the deep-sea beryl on the rocks—
The distant breakers' sullen cannonade.

And he thinks it would be fit if the last earthly sound to reach his ears should be "some message blown over the dim salt lands that fringe the coast," just when "the dawn, illumining the purple waves, turns the gray pools and willow stems to gold." What the sea always does to a man whose boyhood was familiar with it is manifest in the sonnet, "Outward Bound:"

I leave behind me the elm-shadowed square
And carven portals of the silent street,
And wander on with listless, vagrant feet
Through seaward-leading alleys, till the air
Smells of the sea, and straightway then the care
Slips from my heart, and life is once more sweet.
At the lane's ending lie the white-winged fleet.
O restless Fancy, whither wouldst thou fare?
Here are brave pinions that shall take thee far—
Gaunt hulks of Norway; ships of red Ceylon;
Slim-masted lovers of the blue Azores!
'Tis but an instant hence to Zanzibar,
Or to the regions of the midnight sun:
Ionian isles are thine, and all the fairy shores.

Aldrich has the purely artistic temperament; he is a poet and no preacher. Truth requires us to say that in his always delectable verse we have the free play of an exquisitely cultivated æsthetic sense, trained to facile and elegant expression, but unpledged to moral industries. He has given much pure and refined pleasure to his fellow-men, and in his poetry there is nothing harmful or depressing. He has no liking for those pessimistic poets who have

Trained their Pegasus to draw a hearse
Through endless avenues of drooping verse.

Our Industrial Utopia, and its Unhappy Citizens. By DAVID HILTON WHEELER. 12mo, pp. 341. Chicago: A. C. McCLURG & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This book will serve several good purposes; it will operate as a corrective of many erroneous notions widely prevalent; it will help to restore a healthy tone to a depressed and demoralized public feeling respecting the social situation; and it will put its readers in possession of much really valuable information. Yet it will fail to do all the good

it ought to do. The class to whom it would be the most beneficial will not largely read it, as they are apt to scrupulously avoid the light on certain subjects. Some of this class who do read it will use portions of it, we fear, to "point a moral," if not to "adorn a tale," by quoting its "atrocious sentiments" to disapproving audiences. Some of our pessimistic teachers would have us believe that present social conditions are as bad as they can be and are daily growing worse! Dr. Wheeler does not go to the other extreme of showing that all things are perfect and steadily getting better, but he does give us good reason for believing that there is a general upward tendency with still ample opportunity for both further advance and accelerated rate of progress. The author is hardly as clear as he might be as to the precise limits and character of "Our Utopia," but if we rightly apprehend him it is the stage of civilization we have now reached and which is characterized by an abundance of superfluities for all classes of society. If not the exact realization of Sir Thomas More's ideal it is such an approach toward it as to suggest its possibility, if not its practicability—in neither of which did More himself have any positive faith, as his term Utopia, meaning *nowhere*, indicates. In successive chapters the author discourses with great effectiveness on such subjects as superfluity and unhappiness in Utopia, competition, capital, labor, and wages, government, ethics of industry, etc. His position is decidedly conservative, yet he is frankly open to fresh lines of thought developed in recent discussions, and his views are so forcibly set forth as to challenge consideration. The term "superfluities" appears with a meaning somewhat out of range of its ordinary acceptation. With him it is whatever pertains to the common welfare and yet is above the actual necessities of life. Most people regard it as covering those things not only that we could do without, but that we could spare about as well as not. We have, however, no one word to substitute as standing for such utilities as lie between necessaries and luxuries. "Comforts" and "conveniences" are frequently used to fill their space; but there is a vagueness about them which makes them unsatisfactory. Necessity is itself a rather elastic term, and there are very few people who realize how little is absolutely essential to the keeping of life and health in good condition. The author holds that it is not so much the necessaries of life for which the great majority of men are struggling, but the superfluities, and that, too, properly enough. Nevertheless, many readers will feel that he has fixed too low the line where necessaries end and superfluities begin. The strictures on the clamor against competition are very strong and not altogether untimely. There is no doubt about the waste and harshness and the frequent cruelty attendant upon rivalry in business. There is scarcely any field in which human selfishness has so large room and such great inducements for its operation as here. So obvious is this that even among men of only moderately advanced views it has seemed that it must wholly cease to be an operative principle in any wholesome industrial system. Yet so deeply is it implanted in the whole nature of things that reason seems to demand its

retention in some form. Nor in all the assaults made upon it has there yet appeared any efficient substitute for it. It is not inconceivable that it may be retained and yet so modified in its operation as to be freed from all its vicious effects. Still, we suspect that our author may have failed to recognize all the evils that belong to competition as it now presents itself in the industrial world. There is, however, food for thought in the suggestion of the moral superiority of the communities in which competition largely prevails over those in which it is feeble. There is very much valuable truth in what is said concerning the relation of the government to industrial affairs. Paternalism symbolizes not a very reasonable principle in the state of any people. This is sometimes carried or sought to be carried to a preposterous extent. But legislative interference may be legitimate and yet stop far short of that. It may and unquestionably often does restrict and suppress certain crying evils in the relations of employers and workmen. The long series of factory acts in Great Britain and similar action by our own State legislators testify to this end, though there is yet much to be desired in this line. We do not understand Dr. Wheeler to deny this, and yet it is possible that here, as in the question of competition, he is inclined to leave too much to the operation of natural law. A considerable class of readers will dissent from some of the author's views on the subject of trusts. He describes with clearness and force the great gain to the community that is possible to flow from the formation of these large combinations. These cannot be gainsaid, though they are very liable to be overlooked by superficial thinkers. So, too, he speaks wisely on the natural barriers against many of the evil liabilities involved. Yet the peril to society of putting such vast power in the hands of irresponsible men is not so fully indicated as seems desirable. The opportunity for oppressing the weak and working the ruin of honorable competitors, and that, too, otherwise than within legitimate economic limits, is exceedingly great, and it is not conceivable that some will not take this sinister advantage. It is, moreover, evident, after discounting to a reasonable extent such testimony as may be inspired by partisan and prejudiced motives, that there have been some appalling rascalities perpetrated in the operation of the great trusts. The author deals trenchantly with the false social and economic views so widely prevalent, and deftly punctures many a bubble popularly presumed to contain solid instead of gaseous matter. The functions of capital are ably set forth. We are made to see that it is not, as it is fabled to be, the employer of labor, and therefore the cause of all the woes experienced by the latter, but rather that both it and labor are employed by the manager or *entrepreneur*. Notable, too, is his approval of the theory concerning land that it has no value except what has been put into it by labor, which of itself is a refutation of Henry George's doctrine of government ownership and the single tax. The great advantages to industrial society of accumulated wealth by individuals, so abhorrent in the socialistic mind, are made very obvious. The distinction between moral and economic disorders, a source of perpetual confusion to

many minds, is well drawn. Another subject about which much obfuscation exists, and that, too, in minds otherwise well informed, is that of self-interest and selfishness. It does not follow, as Dr. Wheeler aptly reminds us, that because self-interest is one of the chief springs of action in industrial enterprise, therefore this is the same as selfishness, or that any form of pure selfishness is to be approved. The book as a whole is suggestive and stimulating. Dr. Wheeler's style is not only clear, it is also attractive. There is pleasure as well as profit in reading him. He has poise and range, and the faculty of looking at his subject from many sides. He is no mere pedant or book-student, but also sufficiently a man of affairs to perceive the practical bearing of theories and things.

The Principles of Rhetoric. By ADAMS SHERMAN HILL, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College. New edition, revised and enlarged. 12mo, pp. 421. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.20.

This work, intended for "advanced students of English composition," may well be brought to the attention of the clerical readers of our *Review*. First published in 1878, it was even then accepted as a compacted, comprehensive, and wholly modern statement of the principles underlying the proper use of our English tongue. In this new edition it has probably no superior as a convenient and practical manual for rhetorical study. Some elementary matter has been omitted; one or two new chapters have been added; the book has been in part rewritten and rearranged; the illustrative quotations have been made more numerous; and altogether there are one hundred and twenty-eight more pages in this edition than in that of 1878; while the index at the end is a model of completeness, filling thirty-one pages. But the distinctive feature of the work, and that which renders it more interesting and readable, as well as more instructive, than any treatise of the kind which we remember to have read, is the free and skillful use of practical illustrations. Most of them are taken from the writings of acknowledged masters of English: and a footnote gives the name of the particular work from which each quotation is drawn. These illustrations occupy at least one half of the book and emphasize the various principles which the author advances. Several of them fill more than a page of small type; most of them are of interest in themselves, independent of their utility as examples of correct or careless writing; and many will revive pleasant memories and rekindle old literary friendships. That the book has been revised up to date is attested by the fact that it contains no less than six such quotations from Mrs. Ward's *Marcella*. We have called the attention of our clerical readers to this work with a purpose. The author defines rhetoric as "the art of efficient communication by language," and adds, "It is not one of several arts out of which a choice may be made; it is *the* art to the principles of which, consciously or unconsciously, a good writer or speaker must conform." Now here lies the point. The truth is that few writers or speakers do "unconsciously" make the most of their opportunities; and preachers are no exception to this statement. Language is their one means of communication with their congregations, their

one vehicle for the expression of the truth committed to them, their one instrument for the persuasion of men and the uplifting of humanity; and it is their solemn duty to use it with all the force and effectiveness which they can bring to bear. One may be a successful merchant, a skillful surgeon, an eminent artist, a famous general, or even a great statesman, without a facile and forceful use of his mother tongue; but it becomes the minister of Jesus Christ to deliver his message in simple, direct, vigorous language, and with all the convincing power of orderly arrangement and of proper emphasis upon vital points. We especially recommend the chapters in this book on "Exposition" and "Argument." Incidentally, and without any intention of revealing editorial secrets, we suggest that the study of this or some similar work might often add considerably to the interest and value of the contributed portion of the *Review*.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. By HENRY M. BAIRD, Professor in the University of the City of New York; Author of *The History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France*, and of *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*. With Maps. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 508, xix, 604. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $7.50.

These volumes, as is shown by the above transcription from the title-page, form a sequel to two previous works by the same author, the one published in 1879, the other in 1886. Together, they constitute a connected history of the Protestants of France "down to the full recognition of Protestantism by Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul, in the second year of the nineteenth century," and represent "the conclusion of historical studies that were begun more than thirty years ago." Many of our readers will recognize Dr. Baird at once as an old-time friend. Though a Presbyterian, he has frequently contributed to the *Review*, induced, initially, thereto by the close friendship existing between him and Dr. Whedon. In the number for October, 1857, soon after Dr. Whedon's accession to the editorship, we find his first article; in that for September, 1894, we find his last; and, in all, nineteen articles from his pen have appeared in its pages. About half of these are on classical themes, upon which the author, a veteran Greek professor, is easily at home. But just thirty years ago, in the *Review* for January, 1866, almost at the beginning of the researches which have culminated in his historical trilogy, appeared an article on "Bossuet as a Persecutor;" and, at intervals since, he has contributed other articles suggested by materials that had accumulated in his study of ancient documents and records bearing upon the Huguenots. Nor did he hit upon the subject for his great work by accident. His calling and election to it, indeed, seem clearly an instance of predestination, reinforced by all the laws of heredity and early association; for Dr. Baird, as is indicated by his name, is of Huguenot ancestry himself, and his father, the Rev. Robert Baird, D.D., was the author, among other works, of a *History of the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Vau-*

dois, while his brother, the late Rev. Dr. Charles Washington Baird, published in 1885 a valuable *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*. The present volumes, while essentially a continuation of the author's preceding works, may still be read as an independent history. They begin with the accession of the boy Louis XIII in 1610, twelve years after the signing of the Edict of Nantes by Henry IV. When that edict had been obtained the Huguenots, says Dr. Baird, "felt themselves warranted in looking forward with some degree of confidence to a long period of quiet and prosperity, under the protection of a law expressly declared to be perpetual and irrevocable. . . . The edict was not, however, a proclamation of equal rights to the professors of all Christian creeds: this was its weak point. The Reformed religion was not recognized as entitled to the same consideration as the Roman Catholic. The latter was tacitly accepted as the religion of the State as a whole, the traditional and better religion, into conformity with which it was desired and it was hoped that all the king's subjects would ultimately be brought. By the side of this State religion and in its shadow the Protestant religion might stand, and for its security many equitable provisions were enacted. Yet it stood an inferior and with inferior rights. . . . But the exercises of the Protestant worship were 'lawful' within certain limits, and for the peaceful maintenance of these exercises all the authority of the crown was solemnly pledged." This assumed superiority of the Catholic faith and the tacit understanding of the Catholic leaders that Protestantism was to be "tolerated" only until its adherents could be brought, by fair means or foul, within the fold of the Church constitute the keynote of the religious history of France during the succeeding two centuries. So long as Henry of Navarre still lived little, indeed, could be accomplished. But with the accession of Louis XIII began a period of ever-increasing intrigue, treachery, cruelty, and persecution, culminating in the revocation of the edict by Louis XIV in 1685. That this consummation was so long delayed is due largely to the fact that the Huguenots, while constituting "but a small minority of the entire population of France," were "so massed in certain parts of the country as to exert an influence which could not be overlooked or misunderstood." Under Louis XIII occurred the suppression of the Protestants of the province of Béarn and the three Huguenot wars ending with the fall of La Rochelle, the Huguenot stronghold. The two great aims of Richelieu's policy were the extinction of the Protestants in France and the overthrow of the power of Austria. Of the two, however, the latter was far the stronger and more imperative, and necessitated at times the subordination and postponement of the other, as well as half-hearted alliances with Gustavus Adolphus and the Protestants of Germany; so that, under his rule, as well as under that of Louis XIV and Cardinal Mazarin, the Huguenots enjoyed, on the whole, in spite of much persecution and oppression, a comparative repose and prosperity. But with the death of Mazarin in 1661 commences a period of accelerated misfortune and disaster. Little by little the privileges of the Huguenots are invaded, their rights disregarded, and their liberties

infringed. Protestant communities are robbed of their civic prerogatives, Protestant churches are closed and destroyed, Protestant pastors maltreated and murdered. Isaac Homel, an "old man of seventy-two years, of which he had spent forty-two in the exemplary discharge of his duties as a minister of the Gospel," was sentenced to be broken on the wheel. Let the reader who does not know exactly what that means consult any large dictionary. "The agony produced by the most excruciating of all modes of execution known to a bloodthirsty legislation was enhanced by the malice which purposely delayed the last and most merciful blow that should end his misery." Forced "conversions" are made at the point of the sword. "Harassed by importunity, wearied in body and mind, vexed by the loss of property ruthlessly destroyed before their very eyes, distracted by the outrages done to themselves, still more by the dastardly outrages done to their wives and children whom they were powerless to defend save by the utterance of the fatal words of submission, and seeing all these things done in the name of the king, in obedience, as it would seem, to his commands," Protestants pretended to abjure their religion. "That their submission was involuntary and insincere they did not conceal, and could not have concealed had they desired to do so." And all this before the formal revocation of the edict, while the Protestant worship was still nominally under the protection of the crown! Want of space prevents us dwelling, even briefly, upon the recall of the edict by Louis XIV; the cruelties and heartbreaks and wretchedness of the period of the exile; the desperate struggle of the Camisards of the Cevennes; the churches of the "Desert"—conventicles secretly held in secluded places in forest and mountain and valley; the partial relief afforded by the edict of Louis XVI; and the full restoration of civil and religious liberty granted by the first Napoleon. "Exerting an influence out of all proportion to their numbers," says Professor Baird, "the descendants of the Huguenots shape, to no inconsiderable extent, the policy of a nation that scarcely appreciates as yet the service which those men of firm and loyal principle rendered to France in the past or the service which their successors are capable of rendering to France in the future. . . . After the fall of President MacMahon, in 1879, a majority of the ministers—five out of ten—were Protestants, and from that time to this the Protestant representation in the chief councils of the nation has never been small. It has, indeed, been urged as a grievance that in those branches of the administration that specially call for high intellectual culture Protestants have appropriated a share to which they are not entitled—that a Protestant is the director of the normal school, that Protestants are at the head of primary and secondary instruction, that a Protestant woman presides over the school of Sèvres, that Protestant generals direct the polytechnic school and the school of Versailles, and that there are a host of Protestants in the courts of law, as judges, counselors, and officers." These volumes adequately relate the story of a great national tragedy—a tragedy second to none in modern times, unless it be to that now being enacted in Armenia. Professor

Baird has rather undertold the story than overstated it. There is a sobriety in his judgments, a moderation in his style, a reserve and repression in the whole narrative that reveal a dispassionate seeking for the truth and a conscientious endeavor not to overcolor the picture. If religious motives are occasionally emphasized at some expense to underlying political motive, it is due largely to the nature and limitations of the subject. We advise our friends to read the work.

Papers of the American Society of Church History. Vol. VII. Edited by Rev. SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, M.A., Secretary. 8vo, pp. 313. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This paper-covered volume contains the secretary's report of the seventh annual meeting of the society, held in Washington, D. C., December 27 and 28, 1894; a bibliography of works interesting to students of Church history published in 1893 and 1894; a paper by Professor George P. Fisher, of Yale University, on "Dr. Schaff as a Historian;" another by Rev. Charles H. Small, of Hudson, O., on "Some Elements in the Making of the United States;" and a third by Professor John Lewis Ewell, of Howard University, on "Judge Samuel Sewall (1652–1730), a Typical Massachusetts Puritan." A list of members of the society and of deceased members follows. The list of works bearing in some degree on Church history, issued within two years, fills 225 pages. The officers of the society are: President, Bishop J. F. Hurst; vice presidents, Professors H. M. Baird, G. P. Fisher, H. E. Jacobs, and Dr. C. C. Tiffany; secretary, Dr. S. M. Jackson; treasurer, Mr. Barr Ferree; councillors, Drs. T. W. Chalmers, J. M. Buckley, H. C. Vedder, and H. M. McCracken. The third paper gives interesting glimpses of New England two hundred years ago. "The august position of the minister in the Puritan settlement may be illustrated by a sentence from Ezekiel Rogers, the first pastor of the neighboring town of Rowley. . . . When a stranger ventured to inquire of him, 'Are you, sir, the person who serves here?' he replied, 'I am, sir, the person who rules here;' but that early Puritan ministry of New England deserved the profound and affectionate respect of their own and of all subsequent generations." Touching the witchcraft mania is the following: "Witchcraft was for centuries the nightmare of Christendom. The nineteen persons executed in Salem in 1692 seem hardly worthy of mention when we think of the tens of thousands put to death on the same charge in Europe." Judge Sewall recognized negroes and Indians as his own brothers. When his grandson and the daughter of a negro wood-chopper were baptized together in church he wrote in his diary, "So all are one in Christ." In 1700 he published a public protest against slavery in Massachusetts, the closing sentence of which was: "These *Ethiopians*, as black as they are, seeing they are the Sons and Daughters of the First *Adam*, the Brethren and Sisters of the last ADAM, and the Offspring of GOD; they ought to be treated with a Respect agreeable." That was in the days when Massachusetts was exporting fish to the West Indies to exchange for molasses, distilling the molasses into rum, and sending the rum to Africa to buy

negroes. Negroes are no longer bought and sold by Americans, but Massachusetts is still sending rum to Africa in enormous quantities. This typical Puritan was more hospitable to new thought two centuries ago than some men are now. After expostulating with some over what he regarded as errors Judge Sewall said: "If God should please by them to hold forth any light that had not been seen or entertained before, I should be so far from envying it that I should rejoice in it." On Tuesday, February 10, 1708, this Puritan chief justice, then fifty-six years old, spent the day in fasting and private prayer, in the upper chamber at the northeast end of his house, closing the shutters next the street, and the burden of his praying was in part as follows: "Perfect what is lacking in my faith and the faith of my dear yokefellow. Convert my children, especially Samuel and Hannah. Provide rest and settlement for Hannah. Recover Mary, save Judith, Elizabeth, and Joseph. Requite the labor of love of my kinswoman Jane Tappin; give her health, find out rest for her. Make David a man after thine own heart. Let Susan live and be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Steer the government in this difficult time, when the governor and many others are so much at variance. Direct, incline, overrule on the council day, February 12th, as to the special work of filling the Superior Court with justices, or any other things of like nature. Bless the company for the propagation of the Gospel. Revive the business of religion at Natick, and accept and bless John Neesnumin, who went thither last week for that end. Bless the South Church. Save the town, college, province. Defend the purity of worship. Save this New World, that Christ, who is stronger, would bind the strong man and spoil his house; and order the word to be given that Babylon is fallen." This godly judge, a high model for the judges of to-day, died comforting himself with the words, "If any man sin we have an Advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ the righteous." His body for one hundred and sixty years has lain under the trees in the shadow of Park Street Church, in Boston. Of his portrait Whittier wrote:

> The face that a child would climb to kiss,
> True and tender, and brave and just,
> That man might honor and woman trust.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Thoughts on Religion. By the late GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Second edition. 12mo, pp. 195. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The first edition of this book was exhausted almost immediately. The ability of the author, the peculiarities of his religious history, the oscillations of his mind upon fundamental problems of thought, his undoubted sincerity and frankness, gave the public an interest in knowing what might be the character of his final utterances on the great matters treated in this posthumous volume. Most of the papers contained therein were written during the last winter of his life, and when he died, in the early

summer of 1894, were put, by his desire, into the hands of Dr. Charles Gore, Canon of Westminster, to be used as he might see fit. Canon Gore, believing that their publication would serve the cause of truth, arranged them as they now appear, accompanied with thirty pages of introductory explanation and comment in the "Editor's Preface." These essays and notes, as the editor says, represent the tendency of a mind from a position of unbelief in the Christian revelation toward one of belief in it; a tendency of seeking after God if haply he might feel after him and find him, and not a position of settled orthodoxy. Galileo in the old cathedral at Pisa watched with absorbed interest the swinging of the lamp amid the incense and before the altar of worship; in this book we watch the swinging to and fro of an intellectual pendulum across the greatest subjects of human thought, sometimes before the altar and sometimes away into regions where are no altars and no worship.

Illustrative Notes, 1895. A Guide to the Study of the Sunday School Lessons, with Original and Selected Comments, Methods of Teaching, Illustrative Stories, Practical Applications, Notes on Eastern Life, Library References, Maps, Tables, Pictures, and Diagrams. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo, pp. 384. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.25.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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B. F. Geary.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1896.

ART. I.—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CRARY, D.D.

ONE of the stalwart men who have done much to shape the policy of western Methodism is missing from his place. His ancestors came from Vermont to Cincinnati about the year 1800, that city being then a village of less than a thousand inhabitants. On his father's side he was of Scotch-Irish descent; on his mother's he was Huguenot and English, Protestant and Methodist. His grandfather, John Crary, was a soldier in the Revolution. His grandmother on his father's side was Phœbe Cary, an aunt of the celebrated "Cary sisters." About the time Indiana was received into the Union his father, whose name was also John, moved to Jennings County, in that State, where Benjamin was born December 12, 1821. After remaining there less than a dozen years, amid great hardships, the family returned to Cincinnati. The father was a man of sterling integrity, sound judgment, and fervent piety; unfortunately he was quite deaf. The mother was also a center of Christian power. It was the pressure of her guiding hand, the force of her love and genius, that did so much to inspire the noble ambition of her son. The Bible, family altar, and Methodist hymn book were the foundation of that home.

The early education of the boy was received in the public schools of Cincinnati. His uncle, Freeman Grant Cary, the proprietor of the Pleasant Hill Academy, recognized the native ability of the lad and encouraged him to become a pupil in the institution. From this school he graduated in 1842. It was then one of the best institutions in the West. Organized in

1833, and well equipped with teachers, it enjoyed uninterrupted success until the war cut off its patronage, many of its students being from the South. In 1846 it was changed into the "Farmers' College," Freeman Grant Cary becoming its first president. It is now Belmont College. The academic education of the boy, while not broad, was thorough. The very limitations of his course of study contributed to accuracy and mastery of detail; and these characteristics continued with him and served him well through all the years of his life. His fine literary taste—to anticipate his future—was traceable to his training in the academy. While not deficient in mathematical power, he took most naturally to the languages, and so thoroughly grounded himself in the Latin, Greek, German, and French that he could read them fluently to the day of his death. Vergil and Horace were his favorites. He particularly loved the smooth-flowing sentences of the former, and during his last illness would frequently quote from the "Æneid." In his longer editorials and in conversation there was a mildness, grace, and elevation of sentiment readily traced to his love for Vergil. He was also a great reader. Only a few months before his final illness he finished an exhaustive history of the Netherlands. The essays of Lamb and Macaulay and Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* had also much to do in forming his literary style. He was especially fond of good poetry. Burns, Holmes, and Lowell were favorites, but his master spirit was Shakespeare. His mind was exceedingly active. He dug down to the foundation of all the great modern theories of speculation; and in philosophy, as well as poetry and history, his scholarship was thorough.

During his academic course, in 1839, he was soundly converted. "I do not remember the time," said he, "when I did not pray daily. I never doubted the Bible nor the divinity of Jesus Christ." Yet his conversion vitalized and stimulated those implanted conceptions of religion and gave him new ideals. The academy was under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, and for a short time he was connected with that Church. Samuel Fenton Cary, a brother of the president of the academy, and in 1876 a candidate for Vice President on the ticket with Peter Cooper, was at that time a brilliant young lawyer in Cincinnati and an intimate friend and relative of

young Crary. Through the influence of this associate he decided to study law, and shaped his course accordingly; but, soon after graduation, his means being limited, he determined to teach a term in the public schools. For this purpose he came to Dupont, Ind., where he was installed principal of the village school. He thus became an actual "Hoosier schoolmaster," not fifty miles from the ground where Eggleston in after years located his popular story. The journey from Cincinnati to the southeastern part of Indiana was often made in these early days on horseback. It was on one of these trips to visit his home that he chanced to meet the Rev. T. A. Goodwin, who describes the event as follows:

> One sultry day in the summer of 1842, as I was passing on horseback through the town of Harrison, O., I was joined by a well-dressed young man, some two or three years my junior, also on horseback. We had scarcely traveled a mile before he knew that I was the junior Methodist preacher on the Manchester Circuit; and I knew that his name was B. F. Crary, that he was a Presbyterian, a graduate from the Pleasant Hill Academy, and that he had chosen the law as his lifework. I soon discovered that he was a consecrated young man; that he had mapped out for himself a wide field of usefulness as a Christian lawyer. While I proceeded to tell why there was a wider field of usefulness in the pastorate than in the law I discovered that I had a receptive hearer, inclined to give all I said the most candid consideration.

Mr. Goodwin was himself a graduate of the Indiana Asbury University, then under the presidency of Matthew Simpson, and frankly told his traveling companion that he thought it the duty of young men of college training to enter the ministry and raise the standard of culture in the Church. Some years afterward Dr. Crary told Dr. Goodwin that his words on that short ride changed the plans of his life. Although he continued to read and practice law until 1845, yet in less than six months he had license to exhort, and in less than a year was a local preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. About this time he met William H. English, the most popular young lawyer in Indiana, whose after career was illustrious. Admitted to practice in the United States Supreme Court at the age of twenty-three, he became a leader in the State Constitutional Convention of 1850, was the first Speaker of the State legislature under the new constitution in 1851, was elected to Congress in 1852, was the author of the English Compromise

bill, and ran for Vice President on the ticket with General Hancock in 1880. It was with him that B. F. Crary formed a partnership and opened a law office in Lexington, Ind. His distinguished associate remembers him as "a man of strong prejudices and decided ability." This statement is easily explained. Mr. English was an energetic proslavery Democrat, having set his face and organized his great abilities in that direction. It is not strange that this brilliant young lawyer, with boundless ambition, his feet already on the steps to leadership and fame, should fail to comprehend the motives of his local preacher partner. Mr. Crary was by nature and education opposed to slavery. Intellectually he was as strong as his distinguished associate, and fully as well trained; but all his sympathies, ambitions, and convictions were entirely opposite, and probably seemed to Mr. English "strong prejudices." To his friends it doubtless appeared like folly to leave the bar for the pulpit. A lawyer was then the popular idol, the dazzling center of the social circle; a Methodist preacher was little more than a homeless wanderer, laboring without compensation, derided by men who emphasized their contempt by hurling at him epithets and worse, while they fawned in adulation at the feet of the lawyer. Yet Mr. Crary renounced all the honors of a lawyer and became a despised Methodist preacher on one of the lowliest circuits in the itinerancy.

In 1844 the Rev. Augustus Eddy, father of the illustrious Dr. T. M. Eddy, was Presiding Elder of the Madison District, and the friend and adviser of the young lawyer struggling against his convictions. It was he who carried up to the Conference the recommendations of Mr. Crary for admission; but for some reason there was no room for him. In the early fall of 1845 he preached a powerful sermon at the Rice camp ground, near Lexington, from the text, "Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life." While preaching that sermon his final decision was made to give up the law and enter the ministry. It was one of those memorable occasions when the Holy Ghost came upon the speaker with mighty power, until scores cried out in repentance, and the whole camp ground shook with the divine presence. In a few weeks the Indiana Conference met in Madison. Mr. Eddy once more presented the young lawyer's recommendations, and

he was admitted on trial. His charges in the Indiana Conference were: Moorfield Circuit, Vienna Mission, Bedford, Rushville, Indianapolis, New Albany, and Bloomington. From the latter place, at the age of thirty-one, he was appointed presiding elder to succeed the most popular pulpit orator aside from Bishop Simpson that Indiana Methodism ever had—Dr. William M. Daily—who was transferred to the Jeffersonville District to succeed Edward R. Ames, then just elected to the episcopacy.

During all these years of pastoral labor his journals are filled with most devout and continuous prayers. In 1849, while stationed at Bedford, he wrote the following set of rules regarding the more systematic use of his time:

I. Sunday I will rigidly devote to sacred duties. I will spend my whole time in praying, preaching, teaching, and reading the Bible or strictly devotional books.

II. Monday and Tuesday I will read history, general and ecclesiastical, and nothing else except the Bible.

III. Wednesday I will devote to the writing of sermons, essays, and other compositions.

IV. Thursday I will study Latin, Greek, German, and French, and nothing else except the Bible. I declare my strong determination to spend one seventh of my time in the acquisition of the above languages.

V. Friday and Saturday I will devote exclusively to the study of theology and the preparation of my sermons.

VI. It is understood that none of the above rules conflict with my pastoral calling and the devoting of necessary time to the well-being of my flock.

The following cry of distress from his journal will be appreciated by many pastors who have been afflicted with the same plague. On May 7, 1852, he writes: "I was much pained at the very inconsistent and wicked conduct of some of my members. What a curse is a circus! Lord, blow on them."

He was at this time alive to all the questions of the day. The agitation of 1850 over the Omnibus Bill, by which Henry Clay purchased the admission of California as a free State at the cost of more rigorous laws for the recovery of fugitive slaves, aroused the people in Indiana, and, in fact, all the border States. In this agitation he became known as a Whig in politics, an abolitionist at heart, and an uncompromising enemy of the fugitive slave laws. He was afterward one of the first

supporters of the Republican Party, and was favorably known among the leading Union men of the State.

As a preacher he was absolutely sincere. He knew how to attack sin in its strongholds. Frequently a whole town would be stirred by his sermons and temperance addresses. Yet, while wicked men were often made to wince under his well-directed blows, his heart was always tender and aglow with sympathy. His pathos was of the magnetic sort which electrified, rather than melted, those who heard him. When his proposition was established he spent no time in decorating it with rhetorical figures; he had no use for the magic of mere words. His sermons were eminently scriptural. He especially admired the Epistle to the Romans, and was wont to say that the highest point reached in inspired thought was Rom. xi, 33.

In 1857 he was elected President of Hamline University, Minnesota. This was a year before that State was admitted to the Union, and the entire territory had less than one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. The financial reverses of that year mark the lowest point of economic depression ever reached in the history of the nation. The infamous Dred Scott decision, from which the dominant party had expected much, only plunged the country into an agitation that shook the four corners of the Union. There was no defined public sentiment upon which one could rely. The very measures intended to allay political excitement were like the wind driving the rapidly spreading flames of a forest fire. To undertake to "create" a university under such conditions required courage. Up to the election of President Crary only the preparatory department of the university had been in operation. On taking an inventory of the situation he found that by some strange accident a note for $13,000, given by Bishop Hamline, had been hopelessly lost. The bishop at that time was living in Mount Pleasant, Ia., in feeble health. President Crary instantly made up his mind what to do, and taking the first boat down the Mississippi hastened to apprise the bishop of the situation. He spent several days with him in order to get the case fully before him, when the good bishop made out a perpetual lease to the valuable university property in Chicago. The document is a model of its kind, and was drawn by the bishop himself, who had practiced law before entering the ministry. This paper

President Crary carried home with him, to the surprise and delight of the friends of the university.

In November, 1858, he writes as follows to his mother:

> My opportunities are very fine, and I am trying to improve my time. I do not know how soon I may be called to the pastorate again, and I am anxious to be thoroughly prepared. It is difficult for me to reconcile myself to teaching, but I am satisfied that I am doing the will of God. We have an interesting school, said to be the best in the Northwest. It is doing well as to students, but it fails to pay us. As times grow better we hope to succeed better. Next term we will have a much larger school. Money is so scarce that the richest can scarcely educate their children. It is a great pleasure for me to say that God has given me numerous evidences of his loving-kindness.

One who was on the faculty with him says they were so poorly paid that they were obliged to depend on the voluntary contributions of produce brought in by the farmers, and that the faculty on one occasion had to divide a single sack of flour among them, carrying the shares home after dark in order to hide their poverty from the students. It is doubtful whether Dr. Crary was satisfied with the detailed work of the class room. He was a man of affairs, capable of leadership; but the ten thousand petty things that burden a college president made him long for the freer air of the pastorate. In 1861 many of his students enlisted, and his classes were badly dismembered. The same year Governor Ramsey appointed him State superintendent of public instruction; but he soon ascertained that the position was not in line with his convictions of duty. He therefore returned to the pastorate, being stationed at Jackson Street, St. Paul, where during the winter of 1862 he had a great revival, which is spoken of to this day.

In the early spring of that year, a vacancy occurring in the chaplaincy of the Third Minnesota Volunteers, he was elected to the place, and in three days was off to the front. In mature manhood he had a fine military bearing. He was a superb horseman. A little above the medium height, strongly built, graceful in carriage, mildly but firmly dignified, habitually self-composed, and resolute of heart, he became at once a favorite in his regiment. At the battle of Murfreesboro he was stunned by the bursting of a shell. His youngest brother, having moved South as early as 1845, was in the same battle on the Confederate

side, but neither was aware of the other's presence until the close of the war. He was also in the thickest of the fight at Corinth, giving his attention to the wounded and dying soldiers on the battlefield. In July, 1862, his regiment was captured by General Forest. The order was given to send the officers to Libby prison. Dr. Crary had on a surgeon's scarf, and was assisting in taking care of the wounded on both sides. The surgeons were left undisturbed, and he thus escaped that death pen. In the fall of 1862 he took part in the campaign against the Sioux Indians, and in 1863 General Asboth detailed him to go up the Tennessee River and take charge of the contrabands. By order of General Grant he organized the able-bodied men into the First Tennessee Heavy Artillery, and assigned them to duty in the river forts. While drilling these troops the concussion of heavy cannon at close range brought on his deafness with great suddenness—an infirmity which in his case can be traced back to his great-grandfather, Dr. Samuel Cary, who graduated from Yale University in 1755. On account of this infirmity he was obliged to resign his commission. Shortly after Governor Ramsey appointed him to visit the hospitals from Keokuk, Ia., to Memphis, Tenn., in order to inquire into the condition of Minnesota's soldiers. This he did with great thoroughness, reporting many abuses to the medical director. He was well suited for this work. A disabled soldier himself, he passed through the wards with a smile that exorcised pain, and with a sunny kindness that made the pale faces of the sufferers light up with new hope. He continued an ardent friend of the soldier till his death. He was a member of the George H. Thomas Post, G. A. R., and now lies buried in their plot near the soldiers' monument at San Francisco.

In 1864 he succeeded the venerable Dr. Charles Elliot as editor of the *Central Christian Advocate*. Dr. Elliot had set the pace in a vigorous and successful struggle for the preservation of the Union. Dr. Crary was familiar with all phases of the slavery question, and was known for his good judgment and unflinching loyalty; so that it was natural for the General Conference to turn to him as the successor of the gifted Elliot. In the General Conference of 1864 he served as chairman of the Committee on Slavery, and in 1866 was one of the leading spirits in the organization of the Freedmen's Aid

Society. From 1864 to 1872 he was at the height of his power. His editorials are masterpieces of strong Saxon. His defense of the Union, in the reconstruction period, showed him to be a tower of strength. His paragraphs on the pope and the Roman hierarchy, about the time the Ecumenical Council was declaring in favor of "infallibility," rival the finest wit, the keenest humor, the most penetrating satire in the English language.

He came to Colorado in 1872 and reentered the pastoral work as a presiding elder. He was a stranger, but he walked right into the esteem and affections of his brethren. During the eight years of his service no more heroic pioneer work has been done in the history of the Church. He would drive forty or fifty miles to be at the reception of his preachers in hard and discouraging fields of labor. There seemed to be no limit to his endurance. Through storms and over swollen streams he went; across the sandy desert under a broiling sun he journeyed, facing withering winds hot as if from the mouth of a furnace; over parched and rainless plateaus he rode toward the distant mountains, up whose serpentine grades he toiled into the clouds. Dusty, hungry, and thirsty, he often found himself with his supper to prepare, his team to care for, and his bed to make alone under the stars; and thus he went month after month and year after year, with rapturous joy that he was counted worthy of a place in the Master's vineyard.

At the General Conference of 1880, held in Cincinnati, Colonel John W. Ray, his old-time friend, placed him in nomination for the editorship of the *California Christian Advocate*. All the Hoosier delegations seconded the nomination, and he was elected by an overwhelming majority. Indiana never did a better thing for California Methodism than when it nominated Dr. Crary for the position which he filled for nearly fifteen years. California fell in love with him at sight. In addition to his editorial work he began to preach every Sunday in neglected portions of the city, and established an appointment which is now the flourishing Simpson Memorial Church. With Dr. Otis Gibson he organized the San Francisco City Missionary and Church Extension Society. He traveled the whole length of the coast to attend the Conferences and Missions, and in every way without ostentation freely identified himself with the field. One of the delightful features of those

Conference sessions was his addresses. His good nature, fund of anecdote, and sincerity of purpose insured him a royal welcome at those annual gatherings.

Anyone acquainted with the development of a new country has observed that public sentiment is subject to sudden and violent changes. The masses, impatient for the millennium, blame everything that stands in their way, and are too ready to follow inferior, reckless, and irresponsible leaders. California, with its fertile soil, its large population, and its immense wealth, had become disorganized by wild speculation, and was a veritable paradise for agitators and fanatics. The whole State had been in the rigors of an intense agitation, which in 1879 culminated in the adoption of the new constitution—an astounding piece of legislation that intimidated capital, excited the State with needless litigations, and crippled the industries of the commonwealth without relieving those in whose interests it was alleged to have been framed. The wave that with such ease and swiftness carried Kearney and his demagogy into power had subsided through the ignorance and incompetence of the leaders. Society was sullen, and factions were snarling at each other. The State had been thoroughly torn to pieces, but no leader of sufficient tenacity of fiber or constructive power had arisen to organize the better element. Such was the condition there when Dr. Crary undertook to build up the *California Christian Advocate.* The old editorial fires were kindled anew, and the paper became a mighty factor in redeeming the State from the dominancy of hoodlums and Kearneyites. A sort of kuklux committee of the "baser sort" was organized, and sent out notes of warning to ministers and respectable citizens, signed "One of the Committee." A letter of this sort reached Dr. Crary; it thoroughly aroused him. "We know 'One of the committee,'" he wrote; "he has been to see us. . . . He is a scoundrel from the top of his head to the soles of his feet. He is not an American; his speech betrayeth him. We despise him, and do not propose to obey his majesty nor the reeking saloon whence he comes." During the decline of Kearneyism in San Francisco some of the most unscrupulous wretches floated to the top and managed to get into the legislature. They gratified their barbarous instincts by attending dog fights and other kindred entertainments. Dr. Crary

hit them a stinging rap in the following sentence: "An honorable (?) member of the legislature, and other dogs, attended a dog fight one night not long since."

From time to time the California Medical Society had trouble in suppressing spurious diplomas. Once the whole fraternity was set to laughing by the following piece of Dr. Crary's well-directed satire: "One of the bogus doctors of the infamous 'diploma factory' of Philadelphia has drowned himself. Now, if the holders of these bought diplomas will only have sense and honor enough to drown themselves, we shall think better of the crowd." He also set himself with all his strength against the flood of cheap and worthless songs that deluged the Sunday schools. Of these he wrote:

> We have a brand-new song book, and are sorry to say that it is mostly original. That, we presume, is its chief merit and attraction. These songs are unutterable twaddle in limping rhymes, with endless plagiarisms, vain repetitions, parodies, and hymns falsely so called; not one of them with the slightest approach to poetry, not one of them has a robust thought decently expressed. . . . When singing these ridiculous, ill-jointed, disjointed rhyming atrocities, the boys and girls get into a sort of hurrah, and yell and scream and wink at each other, and go it, ending with "We're bound for a glorious land."

Some dozen years ago a distinguished professor was elected to the head of the philosophical department of the —— University. In his first public address he took occasion to announce himself a rank Hegelian. Dr. Crary in the following thoroughly characteristic way proceeded to criticise his extravagant views:

> Professor —— avows his acceptance in the main of the Hegelian philosophy, the fundamental axiom of which is "Seyn=0;" that is, Being equals nothing. Our readers may not know what that blind statement means. No mortal ever did. We confess to the most profound ignorance of the hidden depths of "Seyn=0." . . . The professor did say the State was a supreme personality, but now he says the State is literally God. . . . Being equals zero; zero equals somewhat, externalizing itself, turning itself inside out; and then this amazing zero becomes a personal God, then it makes a State, and hence the State is literally God. If you can understand that, so much the worse for your understanding. If Professor —— understands Hegelianism he is, no doubt, the only extant human being who does.

Thus he runs along for two columns, ridiculing "Das Seyn=0." The Hegelian clubs put on their wisest-looking spectacles; sat

together until midnight pondering over "Das Seyn=0;" talked in a half-dazed manner of the "dialectic momentum" and the "speculative momentum;" and then went pensively home by moonlight, married, and found out that Hegel and his distinguished followers were all wrong. This piece of consummate satire was read and enjoyed throughout the whole State, and nowhere better than in the —— University, where "Das Seyn=0" hides its head to this day.

From these illustrations of his fearless utterance it will be seen that Dr. Crary was a man of outspoken convictions, and that having taken a position he stubbornly maintained it. He never wrote or spoke in the nicely balanced manner of one who tries to walk a tight rope. He was always positive and aggressive. It is admitted he could not surrender. Many of his best friends thought his strictures sometimes too rasping, and no doubt some people did not fully understand him on this very account. They could hardly think that a soul as gentle as that of John Fletcher, and imbued with the rapturous joy of Charles Wesley, could write such merciless indictments. Yet it must be remembered that his combative powers were unusually strong. He literally abhorred sin and shams.

It was his deliberate choice to ignore both the premises and the proof of an adversary, and at once to attack absurd conclusions. He reasoned that, however deftly constructed and polished the arguments of an opponent, if the conclusion was absurd there must be a fatal defect in the reasoning. He kept himself well informed on all the philosophical theories of the day, but preferred to explode an absurd conclusion with a spark of ridicule rather than to disentangle the threads of a long and complex process of argument. In 1851 the celebrated phrenologist, O. S. Fowler, made a delineation of his character, and among many other true things said: "Your great point is argument, and specially by ridicule. You can use up an opponent in a little more genteel style than any other man; and yet you ridicule his doctrine and not himself, and always to establish truth, not merely to conquer." Few men could lampoon chicanery and vice with such crushing effect as he. By a flash of satire he would in a twinkling baffle and confound an antagonist. The advocates of slavery and intemperance often received vigorous shocks from his well-charged battery.

But, though he was exceedingly fond of ridicule and satire, and possessed a vocabulary of the stamp of Carlyle's, yet his conscientiousness prevented him from degenerating at any time into indiscriminate lampooning. He could resist an attack with great vigor, but revenge was no part of his constitution. Every faculty of his being was consonant with the strictest justice. He was charitable, and never acted toward men whom he could not trust on the plane of their quibbles and eccentricities. The very soul of honor and inward integrity himself, he was generous in his opinion of the moral principles of others.

There was something about his character which took hold upon and thrilled one. He wore no mask; his soul was in his face. The delicate tracery of pure thoughts, the sensitive lines of habitual devotion, and, in fact, the whole story of his intellectual and spiritual life were stamped upon his features. The light on his face was not of that cold, dry sort which glints over crystals of snow without melting them, but was a warm, sympathetic sunshine, dissolving the sorrows and stimulating the hopes of others. Dr. Abel Stevens has expressed what thousands on earth and in heaven can say of him:

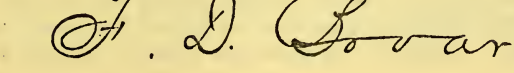
> He was a good soldier of the Lord Jesus, and, after many battles, has retired from the field to his final rest, with the benedictions of all who knew him. Apart from his talents and long services, he was dear to me for his admirable personality. I not only esteemed him, I loved him. He always seemed to me a singularly lovable character. There was something specially endearing about him. It is a benediction on our lives to have known one such man.

He had well-established and profound theological opinions. Full of Wesleyan doctrine to his finger tips, yet he was alive to every important idea that showed itself above the ordinary level. He had no sympathy with necessarian views in philosophy or religion. Man's freedom was to him the only basis of human responsibility. His entire nature was devout. He felt no abnormal sense of mystery, and cherished no hallucinations as to the unseen; yet there was always upon his soul the strong pressure of the presence and power of God. He loved nature; it was to him the vestibule of heaven. Praying was the most real act of his life. Whether studying a flower, enraptured with a landscape, thrilled with the glow of a sunset, or engaged in devotion, he was always in communion with his God. His

was not a gloomy theology; but a sunny joy brightened all his religious life.

His whole life was one of unremitting toil. Seven times he represented his brethren in the highest council of the Church. For forty-seven years he toiled on without a vacation, when a stroke of paralysis came like a thunderbolt from the clear sky, and for three years he sat in his chair, looking out upon the hills of eternity with the refrain upon his lips, "God is good. O, the goodness of God!" Speaking of his first attack, when his life was despaired of for many weeks and he was wholly unconscious of the world, he says: "I had not in all my sickness a solitary unpleasant thought, but was shut in with God. I cannot remember of uttering a single murmur or even wishing for anything different; but habitually thought and said, 'Thy will be done.' I will not forget the precious experience I have enjoyed in the very holy of holies." A few days before his death he smilingly awoke and said to his wife: "I have had a dream. I was in a broad plain, and I seemed to see a great army drawn up in companies and battalions. Immediately they broke ranks and I was in the midst of them, shaking hands with hundreds who crowded around me."

A soldier in the rebellion, as well as a leader in the higher conflicts of the cross, it was fitting that he should be buried among the warriors he had loved. The Presidio at San Francisco is situated on a beautiful slope leading down to the blue waters of the San Francisco Bay, and is one of the most charming spots in the world. Not far away are the forts that guard the nation's western portal against foreign foes and welcome the sails of peaceful commerce from all parts of the earth. Just above, on the semicircular brow of the hill, runs the parapet with its cannon whose thunder shut out from Dr. Crary's soul the din of a noisy world, and shut him in with God, so many years ago. Here, where the sentinel paces to and fro in vigilance, and the flag floats triumphantly on the breeze, under a wealth of perpetually blooming flowers the mortal frame of Dr. Crary rests in hope.



Art. II.—CONDITIONS OF AUTHORITATIVE BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

The last decade has been one of intense intellectual activity in the department of biblical criticism, especially in relation to the Old Testament Scriptures. The wealth of learning and critical skill employed in the discussion has been wonderful. Now that the smoke of the conflict has somewhat cleared away the results begin to appear, and whether any readjustments may be necessary, growing out of these discoveries, is now becoming apparent. It is fitting, therefore, that at this time we should ask ourselves what advances have been made, and what results have been achieved, by these protracted and at times almost bitter discussions. That some advances have been made in our knowledge of the Bible; that lexicographical, archæological, and literary investigations have removed obscurities and given a fresh impulse to those who seek to understand the "sacred deposit" God has committed to the care of his Church, will be readily admitted by those who have kept themselves abreast of the critical investigations of our times. The value of these discussions, however, has been impaired by the apparent attempt on the part of some to make their investigations partisan in their character, and to secure adherents for their respective sides, each side being more anxious to establish a theory than to ascertain the truth. Epithets have been applied by one to the other which have tended to prejudice the case, and which have been more effective in the popular mind than any number of arguments. Those who have maintained the conclusions reached by the earlier scholars have been called "Traditionalists," and those who have advocated new views have been designated as "Rationalists;" and each term, in the view of the opposite party, has been regarded as one of reproach. The story of the bronze and silver shield is ever repeating itself; yet both sides may have a measure of truth, if we can only secure the proper point of view.

It is the purpose of this paper to inquire into the conditions of authoritative biblical criticism, and to ask what the Church shall demand of biblical critics before she consents to set aside her accepted opinions and adopt new theories. It will be

readily agreed that the statement of any man, however learned, would not justify the abandonment of any established truth; nor, indeed, would the declarations of any number of scholars lead us to do so, unless supported by facts and arguments justifying the setting aside of that which the generations preceding have acknowledged to be true. The Church must not surrender her teachings without clear proof that they have been displaced by that which is better. Individuals may accept conclusions in their individual capacity which an organized body cannot. The one speaks and acts for himself only; the other speaks for the great mass, many of whom have neither the training nor the opportunity for independent investigations. The individual may assume the personal risk of his own studies; the Church must proceed with care, and make changes only after mature consideration and with a full sense of responsibility. The Presbyterian Church distinguishes between her ministers and her laymen in the pledges required to her doctrinal standards. The layman who is received into the membership of that Church is not obliged to subscribe to the "Confession of Faith;" but this requirement is enforced upon those who enter her ministry and who give instruction in her theological seminaries.

It will be borne in mind that we do not propose any special consideration of the methods or the matters of fact involved in the discussion. We are simply concerned with the effects which the present stage of the controversy should have on the Church in its organized capacity. How far should we modify our standards of belief on these great problems of criticism because of the results of these long years of controversy? The conditions of which we are speaking do not apply to biblical criticism as such. There can be no conditions to the reverent study and investigation of the word of God. The Bible is the book for all men; its study should be as free and as broad as the air we breathe. Everybody ought to desire to study it and to investigate it for himself. The privilege of so doing is the birthright of the Christian, secured by Christ himself. His command was, and is, "Search the Scriptures." The modesty, charity, and unselfish spirit introduced by Christianity were the beginning of the great progress which has been made in scientific and biblical research. This privilege, long trodden

under foot, was restored by Luther with the Protestant Reformation, and is ours in all its fullness to-day. Every person, under the guidance of the divine Spirit and the word of God, must decide for himself what he will believe.

There are some problems, however, that must be investigated by the few, because they alone have the appliances and the training for their complete mastery. By the laws of the division of labor each scholar has a special sphere for which he is best fitted, and concerning which he may speak with authority. A preacher destitute of scientific training would not set his opinions on science against those of a Herschel or a Proctor, a Darwin or an Agassiz; nor on a question of law against a Chief Justice Marshall or a Chancellor Kent; but on a subject of which he is a master, while they are not, he may speak with more authority than they. The condition that confronts the Church to-day is based on the assumption that specialists are the authority to which she must refer for the decision of the important questions that affect the very charter of her existence. It is at this point that we take issue. It is an intuition of our nature to seek authority outside and above ourselves. With all our apparent confidence in ourselves we nevertheless in critical cases distrust our own capacities and seek some authority on which to rely. It is common, in some of the most difficult public problems, to cite past decisions as if in some way those who lived before us were wiser than ourselves. At least the consciousness that others have thought as we think has a great influence in determining our conclusions. The Romanist finds his authority in an infallible Church, which settles *ex cathedra* the doctrines to be accepted whenever heretical opinions arise. But where shall the Protestant go for authority? His Church does not claim special inspiration or infallibility, either in her leaders or in the decisions of her councils. Our inquiry, then, is this: At what point in the discussions of scholars concerning the Bible shall the Church accept the decisions which the critics have affirmed to be true?

There are some recognized principles on which there is a general consensus of opinion. First, historical truth must maintain its position until it is overthrown for reasons satisfactory to those interested in it. The abandonment of the results of the studies of earlier scholars should not take place until new

light has been thrown upon the subject and new reasons advanced which were not within the reach of former investigators. Something certainly is due to the traditions of the Church which have been based upon the investigations of earlier Christian scholars. Second, in the maintenance of her previously accepted views the Church is only required to show "probability," not certainty. In order to the overthrow of the existing conditions the evidence must be overpowering, while a probability in favor of that which exists should prevent its abandonment. This is particularly the case with criticism of similar events differently presented by different authors. It is a canon to be observed in the discussion of apparent contradictions. Alford employs this canon in the discussion of the seeming contradictions which are found in the four gospels. Third, the Church cannot set aside her acknowledged position on fundamental questions on the mere *dicta* of individuals. One person may be wiser than all the rest. He may be greater in scholarship, in reasoning powers, and in judgment than all his contemporaries; but the Church has no right to assume that this is the case. But we may notice some general considerations bearing on this question.

I. Biblical criticism, to be authoritative, must be conducted by those who have learning and intellectual power adequate to the task. It will not be questioned that this subject has attracted the attention of the advanced scholars of the age. Even scientific men have turned aside from their purely scientific pursuits to discuss biblical topics, and in certain instances have become more eminent for their discussions of these subjects than of their ordinary topics of investigation. Some of the qualifications of the biblical critic who would be adequate to this work may be noted. He must, for instance, have a profound acquaintance with the biblical languages. This involves a knowledge of the Hebrew, and of the Greek of the New Testament. The Hebrew, in its lexicography and its syntax, is reflected in the New Testament, and the knowledge of the one for critical purposes cannot be complete without the knowledge of the other. The late Professor Hatch has shown the value of the Septuagint, as well as of the whole field of Hellenistic Greek, for the illustration of the meaning of Old and New Testament words. The late Professor Robertson Smith made

large use of the Septuagint in his critical studies, a version which has been made the instrument both of attack and defense. The knowledge of Hebrew will also be greatly helped by a profound acquaintance with other Semitic languages, and the knowledge of New Testament Greek and of its relations to criticism will also be facilitated by an acquaintance with modern Greek. The linguistic element was long recognized as a potent factor in biblical criticism, and one on which higher criticism mainly relied for its support. It constitutes the basis of the "literary" criticism of the Holy Scriptures. The authoritative biblical critic must also supplement his linguistic attainments with a profound acquaintance with biblical archæology, and with archæological studies in general. This is so patent a condition of real criticism that it is unquestioned. The recent discoveries in Assyriology and the resultant opening up of the languages and writings of the early ages constitute an essential element in modern criticism, and cannot be ignored. Of course an acquaintance with history and philosophy, and whatever pertains to them, must also be qualifications existing in a profound biblical critic.

This view of the breadth of knowledge required in an authoritative critic leads us to conclude that no one specialist is competent to pronounce on the whole question. He can only speak of things within the sphere of his own investigations. A multitude of workers must enter into the problem, and the final outcome must be the product of the contributions of scholars in various departments. There are those, however, who are not scholars, in the sense in which that word is generally employed, who may speak with authority. They are persons of sound judgment and of keen faculties of discrimination, who can review and formulate the facts furnished them by the original investigators. Their opinion is often of more value than that of the pure scholar, because their minds are not hampered by the limitations of a special department. They cannot discover the gold—that is the work of the few—but when found they can test its fineness and appreciate its uses.

II. The Christian Church must also firmly maintain the supernatural. It exists because it believes in a revelation from God; and it cannot accept as authoritative any criticism which denies his existence or his power and willingness to make known his

will to his human children. On this belief it has been built up; without this it might exist as a club, but cannot be a Church as recognized in Christendom. An infidel or an atheist cannot be a critic acceptable to the Church, nor can one who denies the supernatural. We do not mean that those whose prejudices are adverse to the existence of the divine revelation may not honestly inquire into the veracity of the records; but we hold that their preconceptions prevent their giving due weight to supernatural facts. One who assumes that no amount of evidence can prove a miracle is not qualified to speak with authority for the Christian Church, which holds miracles to be the credentials of her being.

Absolute impartiality is a practical impossibility, and we doubt if it can be shown that anyone in the discussion of a critical subject has ever been entirely free from the influence of preconceived ideas. The assumption of much of our modern criticism is that no one can be a competent biblical critic who is not entirely divested of prejudice. Certainly, if anyone could absolutely free himself from his environments it would be the man who is engaged in philosophical or scientific pursuits. In these departments the faith of each individual has had much to do with molding his speculations. The late President Porter, of Yale, makes the following observations, which illustrate the point now under consideration:

> But what each individual soul shall be is determined, very largely, by his religious creed and aspirations. The speculative thinking of modern times is represented by such names as Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, Leibnitz, Hume, Rousseau, Reid, Adam Smith, Kant, Schelling, Hamilton, Hegel, Comte, Mill, and Spencer. Modern physics is represented by Newton, Brewster, Young, Davy, Faraday, Tyndall, Helmholtz, Herschel, Kirchhoff, and a multitude more; modern culture by a still greater host, such as Cowper, Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Goethe, Schiller, Tennyson, Macaulay, Carlyle, Emerson, and Matthew Arnold. In speculative philosophy—which would seem to be most withdrawn from personal influences—nothing is more obvious than that the personal faith of each leader of thought has been a potent factor in determining the range of the philosophical relations which he recognized, and the relative place which he assigned them in his system. The mystical skepticism of Kant, the semi-Christian pantheism of Schleiermacher, the decorous conformity of Locke, the keen pyrrhonism of Hume, and the confident and imposing agnosticism of Spencer, reveal quite as much of the individual personality of each of these men as of any plastic energy in their environment.

Facts are facts, no matter by whomsoever they are found, but the bearings which they have on the progress of argument will be determined largely by the mental or moral attitude of the person who employs them. It must be admitted that if complete freedom from bias could be secured there would be a basis for a correct judgment. Assuming the statement of President Porter to be correct as to philosophy, we may well conclude that the same rule holds true in the realm of biblical investigation, and that such criticism as leaves out of the account one's predispositions and environments is not possible.

III. This leads us to the further consideration that authoritative biblical criticism must be the work of men of profound piety and deep insight into spiritual truths. An abiding love of the truth is fundamental to true criticism. Truth has been defined to be "conformity to fact or reality." The seeker for truth must seek it with clear and open vision. He must desire it so much that he will neglect no means of finding it. He will search for it in every direction; no place will be too remote for him to inquire for it. He will examine all the books which men have written; he will study the mustiest manuscripts in the neglected libraries of the East; he will delve among the foundations of ruined cities, in tropic heat and winter cold. He will love truth more than home or friends or reputation, and when he has found it he will be more joyful in its possession than if he had found many rubies. He must not only love it supremely and search for it diligently, but when he has it he must communicate it honestly. He must put it forth just as it is. It must not be marred, either in its search or in its promulgation, by his own prejudices or by the prejudices of others. He must not be a timeserver, but a bold, manly man, who would not misrepresent that which he has won at so great a cost for the applause of the world. There are conditions, however, in attaining the truth, which must be carefully guarded, if one would find it revealed in the Scriptures. The critic should have that spiritual insight which comes from reverence and from deep piety. Spiritual things are "spiritually discerned." There is an unfolding of the truth to the spiritual mind which others cannot comprehend. It is said that when Mr. Pitt was prime minister of England he accompanied a friend to hear Mr. Cecil preach. Mr. Cecil was a man

of deep spirituality, and proclaimed to his audience the wonderful things of God. When the sermon was concluded his friend asked the prime minister how he liked the discourse. Mr. Pitt answered that he did not understand it. A distinguished literary critic was asked to write an introduction to a volume of religious poems. He hesitated to do so, giving as a reason that he did not understand them. Those who have been trained in Gospel truth, and have felt its power in the heart, are not aware how little its great thoughts are understood by those who have had no such privileges. It is granted that this piety in the case of the critic is a prejudgment in favor of the Bible, which has been his teacher. But we insist upon it that this condition of mind and heart is essential to a just estimate and an accurate discrimination as to the interests involved. Rev. E. E. Nourse, in a recent magazine article,* makes the following statement concerning the attitude of some German theological scholars toward piety which would be scarcely credited were it not vouched for by one who speaks from personal knowledge:

> One of the surprises which the average American student of theology meets with (in Germany) is the very common separation of the religious and intellectual, or scientific, elements as qualifications of a religious teacher. In America we generally consider these as somewhat equal in importance. At least, the theologian whose religious life is known to be rather weak, or of a somewhat negative character, is not looked up to with the same respect, nor are his writings so influential, as is the case with the one who is known to unite with intellectual power or scientific attainment a warm religious life. But in Germany the separation between these two elements is complete. We have heard it distinctly stated in a public lecture by one of Germany's best and most noted theologians that the element of piety . . . has no necessary place in the make-up of a great theologian. The intellectual element is given the first, and generally the only, place.

Piety is therefore a condition of theological investigation which the Church cannot ignore.

IV. Again, authoritative criticism involves a general agreement on the part of the critics concerning the changes which it demands, and the grounds on which they rest. The Church cannot accept in a matter of such grave import the results of divided counsels. If a number of men deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and each for a different reason, such denial seems to involve a hostile purpose. At any rate, exten-

* *Hartford Seminary Record*, December, 1895, p. 77.

sive divisions in the ranks of hostile criticism as to what it claims to have proved afford sufficient grounds for hesitancy before abandoning our accepted beliefs. This principle is recognized by Professor Sanday, of Oxford University. When speaking of the gains of the new criticism (*The Oracles of God*, p. 79) he says:

> The first gain is truth. I do not wish to assume the ultimate establishment of any particular set of propositions. All that I mean is that those which are ultimately established—those which obtain a large amount of general acceptance—will do so because they are true. There is great force in the old adage, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*, "The whole world cannot go wrong."

It is clear that the recent utterances of scholarship in our own country do not show such unanimity in favor of the view Professor Sanday advocates. In a note referring to the foremost American scholars at the time when he wrote (1891), he mentions the following who are still living, namely, Thayer, Dwight, Fisher, Briggs, Isaac Hall, Green, and Warfield. A glance at this list will show such wide divergences of opinion as to justify the unwillingness of the Church to abandon her present position. A reference to other distinguished scholars would show the same result. Professor A. A. Bevan, in the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1895, in reply to Professor Sayce, makes acknowledgments which deserve consideration in this connection. Speaking from the standpoint of modern criticism, the professor states:

> That eminent archæologists should sometimes differ widely from one another will not appear surprising when we consider the nature of archæology. There cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose that an archæologist is a kind of *deus ex machina*, who can step in to decide all manner of questions with infallible authority. Archæology, like all other departments of research, has its limitations and uncertainties, and any archæologist who ignores this truth will inevitably commit serious blunders. Archæological evidence is, from its very nature, fragmentary. The missing links have to be supplied by conjecture. This is especially the case when we are dealing with literary questions. . . . When we pass from the literature of Greece to that of the ancient East we find that the uncertainty of archæological evidence is vastly augmented. This is due to various causes. In the first place, as everyone knows, the languages and systems of writing in use among the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, and Assyrians fell into oblivion nearly two thousand years ago, and it is only in the present century that the meaning of the inscriptions has been to some extent unraveled. The student of Hebrew, Greek, and Sanskrit

has the assistance of a linguistic tradition handed down through an unbroken series of learned men from the time when these languages were actually spoken; the decipherer of the Egyptian and Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions has no such aid; it is by conjecture, and conjecture alone, that the use of the characters, the meaning of the words, can be ascertained. That many of these conjectures are practically certain no one will now attempt to deny, but a large margin of doubt still remains. The total absence of a linguistic tradition constitutes a difficulty which all the ingenuity of decipherers can never completely overcome. Another cause of uncertainty is the very ambiguous nature of writing. The Assyrio-Babylonian character, in particular, might seem to have been expressly designed for the purpose of confusing the reader.

Justice to Professor Bevan requires the statement that his paper is intended to prove that, notwithstanding the facts to which he alludes, the results of archæological study have been to justify the claims of modern criticism. The conclusions of the radical biblical critics of Germany have been received in a modified form by those of similar intellectual tendency in England and America, and by others of equal scholarship have been rejected. Bishop Ellicott has set forth the general variations in the views held by biblical students.* On one side he places "the traditional view" and "the rectified traditional view," and on the other side "the analytical theory" as presented by the most acute foreign critics, and the same general theory as modified and promulgated by some of the eminent university professors in England. Bishop Ellicott supports "the rectified traditional view," while Professor Green, of Princeton, in his latest work, *The Unity of the Book of Genesis* (Preface, page ix), maintains "the traditional view." The late Dr. James Strong, of Drew Theological Seminary, also held "the traditional view" in its full extent.

V. No results of biblical criticism can be accepted by the Church as authoritative which denies directly, or by clear implication, the authority of Jesus Christ when he affirms the truthfulness of the Old Testament records. The argument from results is one which a true criticism cannot overlook. Professor Sayce closes his article in the *Contemporary Review* by saying, "We have a body of doctrine which has been the support in life and the refuge in death of millions of men of all nationalities and grades of mind, which has been

* *Christus Comprobatur*, pp. 35–60.

witnessed to by the saints and martyrs, which has conquered first the Roman empire and then the barbarian who destroyed it, and which has brought a message of peace and good will to suffering humanity." He thus affirms the results of the word of God on the hearts of men as an argument for the authority of the documents which compose it. On the other hand, Kuenen argues against the history of Abraham and the patriarchs "on account of the pure and elevated views that are found in it." * Surely, if there is a place for this kind of argument it is when any hypothesis invalidates the character of Jesus Christ as a perfect teacher. The divinity of our Saviour and his absolute knowledge of all questions of fact is an axiom as fundamental to Christian truth as the axioms of mathematics are to mathematical science. There is no point on which negative criticism, in the view of Christians, has found more embarrassment than in its effect on our faith in the infallibility of Jesus Christ as a teacher. Thus far no satisfactory harmony has been established between the results of radical advanced criticism and Christ's indorsement of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. This argument is supported as valid both by Bishop Ellicott and the late Canon Liddon. A single passage from Bishop Ellicott will illustrate the point:

> Arguments from consequences, as Dr. Liddon has impressively pointed out, cannot be set aside with impunity. If it be obvious that certain theories about the Old Testament must ultimately conflict with our Lord's unerring authority, a Christian will pause before he commits himself to those theories. The appeal to Christ may be fruitless to those who have deliberately crossed the Rubicon; but in the case of the great majority the appeal, if wisely and perseveringly made, will rarely fail to suggest some hesitation, some reconsideration of theories which are traversed by the teaching of Christ or by the inferences which immediately flow from it. †

VI. Authoritative criticism requires time to consider objections that may be raised to its conclusions. The present state of opinion in the Church on the question of the authorship and the canonicity of the books of the Bible has stood the test of time. Objections have been raised at different periods, but chiefly since the time of Astruc. This is particularly applicable to the New Testament. The late Professor Alexander, in his *New Testament Literature*, affirms that the book now

* *Christus Comprobatur*, p. 79. † *Ibid.*, p. 205.

called the New Testament is "the same in every language throughout the world." And he further says that "this identity or uniformity has constantly existed for more than fourteen hundred years; before as well as since the Reformation, through the Middle Ages, back to the close of the fourth century." This affirmation, he declares, is sustained by Rufinus, Augustine, and Jerome, and also by the Council of Hippo, A. D. 393, Carthage, 397, and Rome, 494. It was further attested by Athanasius, Ephraem Syrus, and other authorities. The doubts which arose in regard to authorship and canonicity Professor Alexander explains by special considerations concerning the individual books, which were local rather than critical. It is this test of time upon which the Church must insist before she accepts conclusions so directly subversive of her present position in regard to the Bible. The experience of the past clearly shows the wisdom of this requirement. The Tübingen school has dominated destructive critical thought for many years. For more than a quarter of a century the reputation of a scholar was hazarded if he ventured to question its authority. Many surrendered their gospels, and with it their faith. At length, however, the Eastern monasteries yielded up their treasures to the critical inquirer. The gospel of John has been established as the genuine production of the one to whom it has been assigned by the Church, and that school has practically disappeared except for the scholarship it has evoked from the field of critical discussion.

The convictions of the young scholar must often give way to the conclusions of later years. Young men have done noble work in promoting critical study. Youth is fresh and active, ready to discard the past, and eager for new discoveries. This is proper, and is a hopeful sign. It should, however, be modified by the researches and judgments which are the product of time and of opportunity for further testing. An interesting illustration of the changes of opinion caused by time is found in the recent utterances of Professor Sayce, in the *Contemporary Review* for November, to which allusion has already been made. Professor Sayce writes in reply to a paper by Canon Cheyne, in a previous number of the same *Review*, on "The Archæological Stage of Old Testament Criticism." In this paper the canon had coupled the name of Sayce with that

of Kuenen, as "one of those to whom he owes a stimulus in that line of research with which his name is so intimately connected." He charged, however, Professor Sayce with having changed his attitude toward "criticism." Professor Sayce denies that he has changed his attitude toward criticism when criticism means "a sober and reverent examination of ancient documents and ancient history, based upon recognized scientific principles, with a due regard to what is ordinarily termed common sense." The professor adds:

> The more important a belief is, the more imperatively does it invite criticism—not criticism that sets out with preconceived ideas and assumptions, which treats imperfect evidence as if it were perfect, or which builds conclusions upon theories which have yet to be proved. If this is what is meant by criticism I must at once plead that I have no sympathy with it, and I think I may honestly say that I have never had any. But I suspect that a good deal of the criticism to which Canon Cheyne is alluding is what seems to me to be of that intemperate and illegitimate sort that I have just been describing; and Canon Cheyne is doubtless right in saying that I have of late years changed my attitude in regard to it. But that is because it is only of late years that I have begun to realize its true character, its tendencies, and its results. We have all committed follies in youth, and one of the few compensations which old age is supposed to bring us is that of growing out of them. Let it not be forgotten, however, that fifteen years ago there was something to be said on behalf of the "new teaching" which cannot be said for it any longer. . . . Let me briefly review some of the reasons which preclude me from offering any longer the same welcome to the method and conclusion of the "higher criticism" that I was prepared to accord to them fifteen years ago. The pivot upon which the whole question turns is the Pentateuch, or the Hexateuch, as our critical friends would make it. If the Pentateuch is really a hodge-podge of ill-digested morsels, none of which is older than the age of the Jewish monarchy, while a considerable part of them is post-exilic, we may at once give up the contest and follow our critical friends whithersoever they lead us. The Christian Church will have erred grievously, like the Jewish Church before it; and the law which our Lord came to fulfill, instead of being the rock upon which the faith of Israel was founded, will have been the product of religious degeneracy and decay.

The late Professor Delitzsch, on the other hand, modified his views in the direction of the higher criticism. The point we are considering is whether biblical criticism has reached a position where the Church can accept its conclusions when they are hostile to her accepted traditions.

In the present state of the discussion it is fair to the most

advanced biblical criticism to say that it has not reached a state in which the Church can wisely or safely, in her organized capacity, consider its conclusions with a view to modify her traditional beliefs. It is conceded that these investigations have thrown fresh light on the study of the Scriptures, and have given new inspiration to the study of the languages of the Bible and to archæological research; but their generalizations have not yet commanded such confidence as should precede their acceptance by those who have not personally had opportunity to make investigations.

The present writer has attempted to set forth the conditions that should precede action on the part of the Church, with a view to adopt the conclusions which have been set forth by the advocates of what is termed advanced scholarship. In this rapid presentation of a great subject the discussion can hardly be satisfactory, and certainly cannot be complete. It has been the aim of this paper to present the case dispassionately, not attempting, however, to conceal our own belief that the traditional, or what he prefers to call the historical, view still maintains its ground, and, so far as he can now see, will continue to do so.

Professor Caspar René Gregory, of the University of Leipzig, Germany, in his lectures at Drew Theological Seminary not long since, said that we will accept whatever is absolutely proved on these questions. This must be the attitude of the Church. Truth is final. When criticism shall have reached a position which commands the assent of the best scholarship within and without the Church her highest council may take up the question and in the exercise of its godly judgment make such modifications of her statements as truth requires, ever bearing in mind that there have been wise and scholarly investigators of these problems in the past as well as in the present, and that the conclusions of the critics of to-morrow may set aside the verdict of to-day. "Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure," and "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

Henry A Buttz

Art. III.—OUR BENEVOLENCES.

Raising the benevolent collections has come to be a large part of the work of our itinerant preachers. In the earlier days of our ecclesiastical life it was not so. Then our pastors were practically all evangelists, and a Methodist preacher who could not direct a camp meeting, or a revival, or an altar service was not much in demand. But now to one not acquainted with our methods of work an Annual Conference, in some respects, seems more like a great collection agency than an organized body of ministers whose supreme object is to save the lost. Often two thirds of the members of a Conference are not heard on the floor, except when reporting their missionary or other moneys. Some ministers spend ten, twenty, thirty, or even more years in effective service without uttering a word at the annual sessions, except when making these reports.

In our statistical tables we use eleven columns of figures for ministerial support, seven columns for church property and current expenses, sixteen columns for our benevolences and authorized collections, and four columns for church membership. But as one of these four is the number of deaths, and another the number of local preachers, we really have only two left for membership. There are no columns to show what became of the probationers of the preceding year, to register the annual increase or decrease in membership, or to give the number of conversions during the year. Measured by our form of statistics, a large part of the pastor's work is in the interest of our benevolent enterprises.

Those familiar with the cares and anxieties of our pastors further know that many of them—such as are usually counted successful—begin early in the Conference year, and spend a great deal of time in planning for and raising the benevolences. Nearly all district meetings discuss different phases of this subject, especially the one held in the early part of the Conference year. If the time spent one way or another by each pastor in the interest of the benevolences could be reckoned up it would be found to constitute no small part of the Conference year.

What has been said is not to intimate that the Methodist

Episcopal Church in the last quarter or half a century has lost sight of her real mission—the salvation of the people—but to prepare the way for the statement that her methods of work have during these years been much changed. The time spent in raising money for Missions, Church Extension, Christian Education, Sunday Schools, and the Tract cause is as legitimately employed as if spent in preaching the Gospel or visiting from house to house. Nor can we say which of these causes, in proportion to the money invested, is most efficient in saving souls. They are all worthy the faithful and persistent effort of every pastor in the Church.

Objections are sometimes made to the number of our benevolent collections, and usually, as the General Conference approaches, more or less is said about consolidating those of kindred purpose. To do this in a perfectly satisfactory manner is no small problem, and is one not undertaken in this discussion. A readjustment of our benevolences is, however, suggested, which will be applicable whether the causes be many or few, and which the writer believes gives promise of larger returns than the method now used. Let the Discipline declare that "the whole amount raised on each charge for benevolences be distributed to the different causes on the basis of their respective claims." This change is advocated for the following reasons:

First, Because the original apportionments to the Conference practically proceed from the same authority, and rest with equal obligation upon all our pastors and churches. The general committees of the Missionary, Church Extension, Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Societies consist of the board of bishops—sixteen in number—the fourteen representatives of the General Conference districts, fourteen representatives from each board of managers for their respective committees, and the secretaries and treasurers of each board. The bishops and representatives of the General Conference districts are members of the three committees, while the representatives of the boards of managers, with their respective secretaries and treasurers, are different for each committee. Thus two factors out of three in each of these committees are constant, while only one is variable. The apportionments made to the Annual Conferences are therefore largely by the same author-

ity. Other apportionments to the Conferences are also made by the recognized representatives of our authorized benevolences, and are accepted without question. These amounts are usually reapportioned to the districts, and by them to the pastoral charges; so that every pastor and charge in the Church is supposed to receive near the beginning of the Conference year an apportionment for each benevolent enterprise, with no greater obligations to one than to another.

Secondly, Because such a disciplinary provision would secure more concentration of effort by all recognized representatives of these important interests than we now have. These representatives are the pastors, the presiding elders, and the officials of the different benevolent boards. Under the present arrangement it is almost impossible to secure for a charge, or for a tour through a district, the services of any of our corresponding secretaries or official representatives, unless there is a definite understanding that all the money raised goes to the particular board that official represents; and neither he nor the board he represents feels he has done his cause any good unless he carries the collection considerably beyond the amount regularly and authoritatively apportioned the charge. If the apportionments made by the general committees to the Conferences, then by the Conferences to the districts, and finally by the districts to the pastoral charges, have been fairly equitable, the success of this official help is measured largely by the violation of the law of equity that is supposed to prevail in the apportionments. The greater the violation the greater the success.

A just administrator, in settling an estate, will have all legitimate claims against it paid in full if possible; but if this cannot be done he will see that payments are made in the ratio of these claims, for obligation to pay is not affected by the size of the claim. This law is more or less recognized in meeting our benevolences. Pastors and presiding elders are in some respects administrators of this department of our Church finances. Their goal usually is "all benevolent apportionments in full." When this is not done many of them are anxious that each cause receive its due proportion of the amount collected, though they often fail. Hence some pastors and presiding elders hesitate in securing the services of a corresponding secretary or an

official representative of one of our benevolent boards, knowing that in proportion to their success the law of obligation is violated; for, as a rule, what is one cause's gain is another's loss. This hesitancy may not apply to the representatives of the Missionary Society so much as to others, because the apportionment for missions usually exceeds the total for all others. Many pastors think that if they get this collection out of the way the work is more than half done; that they can surely secure something for the other causes so there will be no blanks in their reports, and that, on the whole, the result will be fairly commendable, as only the missionary collection is reported in open Conference.

It is quite probable that even under the present arrangement all our secretaries have more calls for service than they are able to answer; but, if their work among the churches were more in the interest of the benevolences as a whole, what would be to the interest of one cause would be to the interest of another, and there certainly would be more unanimity and concentration of effort by pastors, presiding elders, and these official representatives.

Thirdly, Because such a distribution of the receipts for benevolences would promise greater returns than the method now used. This is perhaps the most important consideration of all, and the best that can be done is to estimate the probabilities. When our members come into full fellowship they solemnly covenant to contribute of their earthly substance, according to their ability, for "the support of the Gospel and the various benevolent enterprises of the Church." Here are two channels for contributions, ministerial support and Church benevolences. In ¶ 280 of the Discipline may be found the following provision adopted by the General Conference of 1880: "The amount apportioned to each pastoral charge for the support of the bishops shall be a *pro rata* claim with that of the pastors and presiding elders; and no pastor or presiding elder shall be entitled to his allowance except to the extent to which the claims of the bishops are also met by the charge or district with which such pastor and elder are connected." And in ¶ 282 the following occurs, which was adopted in 1860: "In all cases the presiding elder shall share with the pastors in his district in proportion to what they have respectively re-

ceived." In these provisions we have the identical law governing the contributions of the Church for ministerial support that we are advocating for the benevolences. This law may not be followed in every presiding elder's district and pastoral charge in the connection, but none are found to advocate its repeal, especially among the bishops and presiding elders. Wherever obeyed it has proved eminently satisfactory to ministers and laymen, and because of the satisfaction given there is no question but that the receipts for ministerial support are considerably larger than they would be under the plan that now prevails for the benevolences.

As a rule most people prefer that kindred claims be aggregated, and generally they will pay more to cancel all these obligations at once than to take them one at a time. Very few persons who pay taxes want to pay for the different funds separately. When a church is to be dedicated all the expenses are aggregated and presented to the people as a whole. No one would expect to succeed if separate subscriptions were solicited for the different items. Many of our largest and most prosperous churches aggregate their expenses for the year, such as for pastor, presiding elder, bishops, sexton, organist, choir, etc. Their contributions are for all these objects taken together; and it would be difficult to prevail upon them to adopt the plan of making separate contributions for each cause, for they know how unsatisfactory, if not disastrous, the result would be. A very large part of our membership really prefer to make their regular contributions to the benevolences as they do for the support of the local church, with the understanding that the distribution be made to the different causes in the ratio of these claims upon the charge. In this way, if their contributions are according to ability, they strictly and consistently comply with their full membership covenant to contribute of their earthly substance to the various benevolent enterprises of the Church.

There may be serious objections to this plan for raising the benevolences, because it contemplates, or does not discourage, "omnibus collections;" and, as some see it, nothing is so disastrous as the omnibus plan. But what vehicle can carry more passengers than an omnibus? A good-sized one is worth a dozen phaetons. It does not make so much display, but it

has room for the people. Usually the great difficulty with this collection is that the amount raised is applied to but one or two causes, in order to make these contributions commendable, while other causes are put off with merely nominal amounts, if any at all, to avoid blanks in the reports. Had there been a law making it necessary to distribute the amount collected to the different causes on the basis of their respective claims, what a difference there would have been in the result! No greater boon can come to some of our benevolences than a well-regulated omnibus plan.

It will probably be helpful in judging the effect of such a plan, if it be applied to the contributions of the Church for a single year, and the result observed. The statistics for 1895 are not yet accessible; we therefore take those for 1894 as given in the General Minutes. In the following table the column of apportionments is graded by the million and a half for Missions; the amount for Church Extension being one fifth; for Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education, one sixth; for other educational objects, one fifteenth; for Children's Day Fund, one twentieth; and for Sunday School Union, Tract, and Bible Societies, one thirtieth each.

BENEVOLENT CAUSES.	Apportionments to the Annual Conferences.	Collections from Conferences, 1894.	Distribution of these collections on the basis of apportionments.	Gains to the benevolences from such a distribution.	Losses to the benevolences from such a distribution.	What each cause would have received if the collections had been distributed pro rata throughout.
Missions	$1,500,000	$1,115,347	$1,021,572	$.....	$93,775	$1,115,347
Church Extension	300,000	128,830	204,315	75,485	.....	223,069
Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education	250,000	108,909	170,262	61,353	.....	185,334
Sunday School Union	50,000	24,667	34,053	9,386	.....	37,178
Tract Society	50,000	21,295	34,053	12,758	.....	37,178
Children's Day Fund	75,000	63,604	51,078	.....	12,526	55,767
Other Education	100,000	121,985	68,104	.....	53,881	74,276
Bible Society	50,000	32,853	34,053	1,200	.....	37,178
	$2,375,000	$1,617,490	$1,617,490	$160,182	$160,182	$1,765,427

It will be seen that the causes which gain most by such a distribution are Church Extension, Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education, Sunday School Union, Tracts; while those that lose are Missions and the Board of Education. This will produce mingled emotions of satisfaction and disappointment. No one in sympathy with our world-wide missionary work, and the purpose of the great commission, wishes to see the receipts of the

Missionary Society curtailed; nor does any one familiar with the Christlike work of the societies which are the gainers by such a distribution want to see them have less than their *pro rata* share of the benevolent offerings of the Church. But, laying aside our special preferences, and looking at the subject from the standpoint of a disciple interested in the salvation of the world, would not the distribution of our benevolences on the *pro rata* plan give promise of greater results, even to the Missionary Society, than the method now used? If Emerson's statement is true, that America is but another name for opportunity, then very much, if not everything, depends upon making the cause of Christ dominant here at home. If Christianity fails in America, with all its advantages from location and non-interference by political powers, then it will fail everywhere else, unless its devotees are blessed with more wisdom and divine guidance than falls to the lot of American Christians. The task of saving the United States is not yet an accomplished fact. Foreigners are here by the hundred thousand and the million, and the worst of it is they have, with few exceptions, brought their anarchism and socialism and heathenism with them. These, with our own native unchristian population, must be more generally brought under the sway of the Gospel if we are to maintain our standing as a Christian nation. To fail here is to fail everywhere else. But, considered from the standpoint of missions alone, are not the additional amounts these home societies would receive by the *pro rata* plan a profitable investment? Most of our Sunday schools begin making contributions to missions nearly as soon as organized. The distribution of religious tracts is missionary work, pure and simple. The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society carries the blessings of Christian education, permeated by the spirit and enforced by the example of the missionary of the cross, to nearly half a million of our own Church members, and the returns to the missionary treasury, though meager at first, will be largely augmented as the years go by. Many there are who believe that the shortest and surest way to do our part in the evangelization of Africa is through the agency of this Society. The Church Extension Board is so much of a missionary organization that the Missionary Society could almost afford to operate the entire plant for the returns that would

thus be brought into its own treasury. Thousands of prosperous churches to-day owe their very existence to the help afforded by Church Extension, and their missionary contributions form no insignificant part of the Missionary Society's receipts. The Board of Church Extension has, in round numbers, aided ten thousand churches; and an average annual missionary contribution of only twenty-five dollars each would bring into the treasury of the Missionary Society the neat sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Taken altogether, it is fairly probable that the Missionary Society would really gain, rather than lose, by a distribution of the benevolent contributions of the Church on the basis of apportionments.

The last column in the preceding table gives the line that would have been reached by our different benevolent enterprises in 1894 had they come as near reaching their full apportionment as the Missionary Society did in reaching the million and a half line. It is, of course, impossible to prove that this would have been done, even under the *pro rata* plan for distribution; but when we consider how successful such a plan has proven to be, wherever faithfully tried, and that it would have taken less than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to have reached that line for all causes, there is nothing extravagant in the belief that, with the expenditure of no greater amount of energy than was used, such results would have been attained.

H. N. Herrick

Art. IV.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

What's in a name? that which we call a rose,
By any other name would smell as sweet.

So said Juliet, and yet there is very much in a name. The smell of the rose might be the same, but the identification of the flower would to some extent depend upon the name. However it may be with flowers, a name is very important to men and to human institutions. The name borne by an individual may have value not only for social but also for legal reasons. The same thing is true as to a religious denomination, for a Church is an individual among Churches, and as a body corporate its name has importance not only as expressive of distinction, but also as indicative of its object and its sphere. It has also a legal value which may determine its right to exist in certain places and under some circumstances, while its claim upon funds and real estate may depend upon the appellation by which it is legally known. A study of the title of our own Church is, therefore, of more than passing interest.

In 1770 the Methodist work in this country was classified in the English Minutes under the name "America." This was its first designation. In 1784, when Mr. Wesley was making arrangements for the reorganization of American Methodism, he prepared a service book which he entitled "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America." By this he meant, as he remarks in his circular letter, the "provinces of North America" which had been "totally disjoined from the mother country and erected into independent States," meaning, in other words, the United States of America. This is clearly shown by the fact that in the second edition of the Sunday Service, printed in 1786, he struck out "North America" and inserted "the United States of America." From this and from other evidences it is plain that Wesley intended the reorganization simply for the United States of America.

The important question is, What title did the American Methodists themselves take, and what did they understand their Church to be. The Minutes of the organizing Conference of 1784 are not extant, at least as far as is now known, and there-

fore we are compelled to depend upon other sources of information. Asbury in his "Journal" of that date merely says, "It was agreed to form ourselves into an Episcopal Church." Bishop Whatcoat at a later date said, "We agreed to form a Methodist Episcopal Church." Thomas Ware relates that he thinks John Dickins suggested the title, and also says that Dr. Coke was in favor of taking that name. In the certificate which Bishop Coke gave Bishop Asbury he calls the denomination "The Methodist Episcopal Church in America;" but it is evident that America meant the United States of America. The same title appears in the first Discipline published after the organization of the new denomination, and so the same name appears in many of the Annual Minutes. From 1804 the title-page of the Discipline contains simply, "The Methodist Episcopal Church;" but this was merely an abbreviation, was the work of the editor, and therefore did not have the legal value which would attach to an act of a legislative or judicial body passing specifically upon the exact wording of the title.

As early as 1789, when an address was presented to the first President, George Washington, the paper was signed by Bishops Coke and Asbury "in behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." This was an occasion when legal accuracy was important, and consequently the full title was given. Washington's written reply, which he read, was addressed "to the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America," showing an effort on his part also to give the correct name of the denomination.

The "Journal" of the first delegated General Conference, which met in 1812, opens with the words, "The delegated General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The same full title appears in other General Conference Journals. In the four General Conferences of which the late Bishop Harris was secretary he always opened his Conference Journal with the same title, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." Some later secretaries have not deemed it necessary to write the full title, and probably the change has not been noticed. Secretaries, editors, or colloquialisms do not determine legal titles, and abbreviations do not change the real appellations. We say "The United States," though the real

title of the nation is "The United States of America." So, "The Methodist Episcopal Church" is merely the colloquial or abbreviated form for "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." But popular expressions, or editors and secretaries, do not finally determine the matter, as does a deliberate legislative enactment or a carefully drawn legal instrument, when the exact title is a matter of supreme moment. In 1796 it became important for the denomination to have uniform deeds, in order to secure property to the Church. This made it necessary to state the title of the body with great exactness, and so, in the "Form of a Deed of Settlement," which the General Conference drew up at that time, appears the full title, as, for example, in these words: "For the use of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and "their General Conferences in the United States of America." When the "Deed of Settlement" was changed in 1864 to a "Form for Conveyance of Church Property" the General Conference struck out the lengthy indenture, but retained the same legal title, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America;" and thus it stands at the present time, and millions of dollars' worth of property are deeded to the "Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." Again, the General Conference of 1796 decided to create a fund "for the distressed traveling preachers, for the families of traveling preachers, and for superannuated and worn-out preachers, and the widows and orphans of preachers." This organization was incorporated by the legislature of Pennsylvania, and because it received a charter it was known as "The Charter Fund," or "Chartered Fund." The charter recites that the fund is for persons in "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and the same title occurs a number of times in the body of the instrument. In 1832 the General Conference authorized the trustees to apply to the legislature of Pennsylvania for a change of the name to "The Chartered Fund of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and the change was duly made. So, the legal title, by the act of the General Conference and the act of incorporation, is "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The plain

intention was that the Church was to be in the United States and was to be for the people within the bounds of the United States.

But it may be said that, while such was the title and intention in the early days, the case is different now, since the Church has work outside the United States. But having preaching places or missions outside the United States does not change the title or make the denomination anything else than "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The fact is that, at the very time this title was settled, the work did sometimes extend beyond the bounds of the United States, though in America. Indeed, there was at the beginning a peculiar connection between the Methodists in the United States and those in the remaining British colonies in America. Thus there was an overflow, so to speak, into Canada, and some of the Hecks and Emburys who had helped to form the first Methodist Society in New York formed the first Methodist Society in Canada, in 1778. Then George Neal, a local preacher from Pennsylvania, taught school in Canada and formed another society in 1790. About the same time William Losee, an itinerant preacher from the United States, visited some friends in Upper Canada and made such an impression by his preaching that the people petitioned the New York Conference, requesting that Mr. Losee be sent to preach among them. The request was granted, and thus the Methodist Episcopal Church began missionary work in Canada. This work across the border was at first connected with the New York Conference, and subsequently with the Genesee, but in 1824 it was made an Annual Conference. This, however, did not work well on foreign soil, for at the very next General Conference a petition was presented from the Canada Conference "praying that they may be separated from the jurisdiction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." Prior to that the mission work in Nova Scotia and Lower Canada had been turned over to the English Wesleyans.

It was now found that it was difficult to administer in Upper Canada. The Methodist Episcopal Church had not ventured into that section until urgently invited on the ground of necessity. But now the Church found it was not an easy or safe

thing to extend ecclesiastical authority beyond the nation in which an ecclesiasticism is located and to which it belongs; and the people in Canada learned that it was not a comfortable thing to hold ecclesiastical relations with, and to be under the control of, a Church located in a foreign country. The General Conference of 1828 considered the petition and adopted the following:

Whereas, The Canada Annual Conference, situated in the province of Upper Canada, under a foreign government, have, in their memorial, presented to this Conference the difficulties under which they labor in consequence of their union with a foreign ecclesiastical government, and setting forth their desire to be set off as a separate Church establishment; and,

Whereas, This General Conference disclaims all right to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction under such circumstances except by mutual agreement; therefore,

Resolved, by the delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled: 1. That the compact existing between the Canada Annual Conference and the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States be, and hereby is, dissolved by mutual consent, and that they are at liberty to form themselves into a separate Church establishment, etc.

It will be noticed that the General Conference recognizes the fact that the Church was not the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, but in the United States, and that in the Canadian estimate it was "a foreign ecclesiastical government." In other words, it was the Church in the United States with missionary or temporary work outside its naturally legitimate jurisdiction. It will also be observed that the General Conference disclaimed "all right to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction under such circumstances except by mutual agreement;" that is to say, to exercise jurisdiction over work "under a foreign government." This was an acknowledgment of the difference of the status of work in a foreign country, or under a foreign government. In such a case it existed only by tolerance, or, to use the language of the resolution, "by mutual agreement." It would be very different with a Conference in the United States. Here the Church could enforce its authority. In another resolution the same General Conference used the following language:

Whereas, The jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America has heretofore been extended over the ministers and members in connection with the said Church in the province of Upper

Canada, by mutual agreement, and by the consent and desire of our brethren in that province, etc.

This again was a declaration that jurisdiction in a foreign country was on a different basis from that in the United States, and that the Church itself was for the United States of America. With the independence of the Canadian Conference the denomination was literally, as well as legally, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." It was in the United States, and nowhere else, even in missionary jurisdiction. It went into Canada, not because it claimed any legal right, but because of apparent necessity, and it withdrew its control because it had no right to insist upon remaining when it was not wanted.

In 1833 the Methodist Episcopal Church began a mission in Liberia. This, however, was not, strictly speaking, a foreign country under a foreign national government. It was rather a colony from the United States founded in 1822, and remained under the tutelage of the mother country for twenty-five years. It declared its independence in 1847, but this was fourteen years after the mission had been planted in this offshoot of the United States. The next year Great Britain recognized Liberia as a sovereign State, but it was not until 1861 that it was so recognized by the United States. It will thus be seen that when the Church extended its missionary operations into Liberia it was not like going into the bounds of a foreign nationality. It went among people of the United States, and so found itself with a mission there after the colony became independent. With the independence of the country, though it was not yet recognized by the United States, there came a desire for greater ecclesiastical power, and the Liberia Conference asked the General Conference of 1848 to grant it representation in the General Conference. This the General Conference refused, thus showing that it was not supposed that a Conference in a foreign land had any inherent right to representation in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The next General Conference received another petition from the Liberia Conference asking "the appointment of a bishop for that field of labor," or that the Liberia Conference become independent. As with the work in Canada, so even in Africa, location in

another country under another national government naturally led to a desire to be free from the control of a Church which was identified with a foreign government, and the report of the committee to which the matter was referred recognized the righteousness and propriety of such a claim. The report of the Committee on Missions, signed by Dr. John P. Durbin, who at that time was the Secretary of the Missionary Society, favored independence for the following reasons:

1. The Liberia Conference is within the limits of a foreign government, and composed of a people of a race wholly different from ourselves. Those circumstances render the application of our episcopal administration scarcely practicable.

2. The petitioners themselves, in the conclusion of their petition, suggest this mode of meeting their case if a missionary bishop cannot be provided for them.

3. The prosperity of the republic of Liberia, compared with its prosperity as a colony under the administration of the American Colonization Society, affords, by analogy, a good ground to conclude that the independence, or at least the independent action and administration, of the Church in Liberia would be greatly conducive to its prosperity and permanency.

This committee, therefore, held that the general superintendency was not intended for, or adapted to, work in foreign lands, but was designed for work within the United States. The action which was taken by the General Conference was a recommendation to the bishops "that they make such arrangements as that one of their number shall visit Liberia once or oftener during the ensuing four years as they shall judge necessary." This was simply a visit, not a residence, that was proposed. It was not understood or believed that a general superintendent could reside outside the United States and continue to have episcopal functions within the United States. That had been settled away back in 1787, when there were placed in the Minutes the following question and answer: "Who are the superintendents of our Church for the United States?" "Thomas Coke (when present in the States) and Francis Asbury."

In 1856 Liberia made further demands, and the General Conference of that year again gave attention to this missionary field. One suggestion was that the Liberia Conference be organized as "The Methodist Episcopal Church of Africa," as is mentioned in the address of the bishops. The Conference,

however, decided upon a missionary bishop who should "reside in Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, or in its vicinity, and have episcopal jurisdiction in Africa only."

This action shows a recognition of the fact that under the fundamental law of the Church no general superintendent could have an episcopal residence outside the United States, and therefore that it was necessary to create a missionary bishop who could reside in a foreign land. The resolution of the General Conference further stated that "the said bishop and churches in Africa shall still be under the supervision of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." This indicates that the foreign mission was not an integral and necessary part of the Church in the United States, but under its supervision; as though this supervisory care might not always be needed, but that the time would come when the mission would or might become an independent Church. Having decided upon the missionary bishopric for work in foreign lands, it was then proposed to make it a part of the constitution of the Church, and the following resolution was adopted:

> That we recommend to the several Annual Conferences to alter the Discipline, ¶ 3, § 2, part 1, by adding the words, after the word "superintendency," in the fourth line, "but may appoint a missionary bishop or superintendent for any of our foreign missions, limiting his episcopal jurisdiction to the same respectively."

This amendment was afterward adopted by the ministry in the Annual Conferences, and became part of the constitution of the Church; and this action shows that the general superintendency was not adapted to, or intended for, work in foreign fields, but that it was intended for the work in the United States of America. No general superintendent since the time of Bishop Coke had attempted to reside outside the United States. In his case the American Church promptly denied his right to reside abroad and at the same time exercise the functions of a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and with this decision Bishop Coke acquiesced. The new amendment made the principle clearer, and fixed it in the wording of the constitution, so that it is plain that the only bishops who can be resident in foreign lands in charge of foreign work are missionary bishops.

The dignity of the missionary bishopric was upheld by the

General Conference of 1888, when it adopted the report upon the question of the missionary bishopric, which report we had the honor of writing. This act defines the status of the office so as to make it one of the most honorable in the gift of the Church, and the missionary bishop in his own jurisdiction an officer of great power. In the case of those now holding the position their field is an empire. All the foregoing facts show that the Church has always understood that the foreign work had a different status from that in the United States.

This was also made prominent for a long time by the fact that the foreign work had no representation in the General Conference. None of our foreign missions had any delegates in the General Conference until 1868. At this Conference provisional delegates, sent by the Conferences which had been formed in the Southern States since the civil war, were admitted to seats in the General Conference. Having admitted delegates from what had been practically missions in the United States, the Conference went further, and declared the Conferences in foreign lands relieved of all former restrictions and to be "endowed with all the rights, privileges, and immunities usual to Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." This having been done, the Rev. John T. Gracey, who was present from the India Conference, was admitted as a delegate; so that he has the honor of having been the first representative from a foreign Conference outside America to sit as a delegate in a General Conference. At the next General Conference, in 1872, one minister appeared from India, one from Germany and Switzerland, and a minister and a layman from Liberia.

Notwithstanding the resolution of the General Conference thus giving the foreign Conferences the privilege of sending delegates to the General Conference, the denomination still remained "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." Though this act was a great concession, nevertheless a distinction continued, and still continues, to be recognized between the status of the foreign and the status of the home work. Thus, General Conferences are held and can only be held in the United States of America. In 1796 the General Conference sent a communication to the British Conference from "the American General Conference," and the

same General Conference put into the "Deed of Settlement" for the conveyance of property, not only that the property was to be for the use of the denomination, but also that the use was to be "according to the rules and discipline which from time to time may be agreed upon and adopted by the ministers and preachers of the said Church at their General Conferences in the United States of America." This shows very clearly that it was understood there was only one country where the General Conference could be held, and that was "the United States of America." Valuable properties are held under this deed, and they are subject to laws made by General Conferences held in the United States of America. To hold the General Conference anywhere else would be as absurd as for a nation to transfer its capital to a distant colony or to a foreign land.

A distinction is seen also in the nature of the permanent superintendency for the foreign field. The constitution decides that the resident bishop in the foreign field shall be a missionary bishop, while the general superintendency was intended for the United States and not for foreign countries. Hence, when a general superintendent goes into a foreign land on episcopal duty it is in the nature of a work of necessity caused by an emergency for which no provision has been made. The foreign work of the bishops is beyond the normal intention of their office, and, being outside their normal functions, at the beginning it seemed to require a special act of the General Conference to direct or permit them to exercise their episcopal functions outside the United States. Thus, in the case of Liberia the General Conference passed a resolution "that the General Conference recommend to the bishops that they make such arrangements as that one of their number shall visit Liberia once or oftener during the ensuing four years, as they shall judge necessary." It will be noticed that even this was only a recommendation. If it had been a constitutional requirement no such action would have been needed, for then the general superintendents would have gone abroad and acted just as they did in the United States.

A further distinction is indicated by the fact that when the general superintendents go to visit the work in a foreign country their expenses are not paid out of the episcopal fund, but out of the missionary fund. This carries with it the implica-

tion that when thus engaged outside the United States they are not doing work that belonged necessarily and constitutionally to their office as general superintendents, but that they are doing work beyond the normal requirements of their office, and work that is of a foreign missionary character; and, therefore, the expenses are chargeable to the missionary account, while on the other hand their expenses in the United States are chargeable to the episcopal fund because their functions normally and constitutionally belong to the United States. In other words, their work in a foreign field is of the nature of emergency action, or a work of necessity, and beyond the real intention of their office. The episcopal fund is for the support of the general superintendents or bishops for the United States, whose work belongs regularly to the United States. Hence, anything done by them outside this country, being of an emergency or missionary character, is properly paid from the fund intended for foreign service.

The distinction between the home and the foreign field is likewise seen in the fact that the salary and expenses of the missionary bishops are not drawn from the episcopal fund, because that fund was not created for foreign service, but are paid out of the missionary fund, which is raised for the foreign field. As the missionary bishops are only for the foreign work, and only exercise their episcopal functions in foreign fields, their support comes legitimately from the latter fund.

The distinction between the home and the foreign work is seen not only in the different functions of the episcopacy acting at home and abroad, and in the source of their support, but also in the restrictions placed upon certain funds of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Thus the Chartered Fund cannot be given to the Conferences outside the United States. So, the Church extension fund is limited to this country. Indeed, a careful inquiry will show that a number of funds are only for the United States of America. On the other hand, the great missionary fund may be given to the Conferences outside the United States for almost any purpose. It is the fund that supports the missionaries and preachers in the foreign Conferences. It builds churches and schools and maintains publishing houses and other enterprises. All these things may be done out of this one fund when used

abroad, while other funds cannot be used outside the United States. These limitations indicate the fact that the denomination is the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States with missionary operations in foreign lands, and that there is a distinction between the two fields, though the foreign field is carefully cultivated by the Church, which has lavished upon it large sums of money, much love, and many precious lives.

It must appear, then, that the Methodist Episcopal Church was not originally intended to be an ecumenical Church, and that, according to the facts which have been cited, it is not an ecumenical Church, notwithstanding its missionary operations in foreign countries. This is seen by its full legal title, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America," which it has placed in a number of legal documents, in its treatment of the work in other lands, and in the present marked distinction between the home and foreign field. Its work abroad is missionary, for the purpose of planting Christianity according to the teachings of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Hence, its control is only of a temporary character. Its object is not to spread a great ecclesiasticism until it shall be in all lands, and then permanently remain in all lands and under all national governments, but to spread the truth of Christ as taught by Methodism. A governmental grasp that will have a firm grip everywhere is not the true intention, though governmental control will be necessary until self-government is possible. Any other purpose is a mistake, and is doomed to failure. The late Bishop E. O. Haven understood the situation when in 1878 he said: "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America cannot well cover and manage the interests of all who ought to be Methodists in the world. . . . A desire to have one gigantic Church, rather than a fraternity of Churches, is Hildebrandic rather than Christian."

There are many reasons why there should not be an attempt to have a world-wide ecclesiastical government. One reason is the fact that it would be practically impossible to make such a government truly representative and democratic. At the present time the one Church which pretends to be ecumenical is the Roman Catholic, and it does not allow popular representation, but is a despotism with power centered in one man who

dwells on the Tiber. No matter what might be the desire, it would be practically impossible to have a truly representative government in a world-wide Church, for it would be impossible to secure a room large enough to hold any fair representation; and then, to meet this difficulty, it would be necessary to cut down the representation until it would cease to be truly representative and would become a sort of concentrated aristocracy. So, we say, the only effective ecumenical ecclesiastical government must be a despotism.

There is another reason that would affect the work both at home and abroad, namely, possible political complications which might arise where a Church extended its rule among foreign nations. If difficulties should spring up between the United States and some other nation where was a portion of the Church in the United States of America, suspicion of disloyalty might be cast on the adherents of the to them foreign Church. This, indeed, was an actual difficulty in the case of Canada, where prejudice existed against the ministers who were connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.

There are some reasons why the Methodist Episcopal Church should not be an ecumenical Church which particularly affect the Church at home. One is the expense of representation from the foreign field. In the last General Conference there were five hundred and four delegates, and the traveling expenses of all amounted to $32,040.30. In that General Conference were twenty-five delegates from the foreign fields, and the traveling expenses of these representatives amounted to $9,417.87, or a little less than one third the total expense of the entire membership of the Conference, while the foreign Conferences contributed only $404.36 to defray these expenses. Probably they did all they could; but that is immaterial to the argument. The home Church has to bear the burden now, and it may well ask what it will amount to in a few years.

Then, another condition which must be considered is the fact that the number of delegates from abroad will steadily increase, so that in a short time they will be a more potent factor in the General Conference. As long as the delegates are missionaries sent out by the home Church the situation will not be so serious; but what will it be when the delegates

shall be mainly or entirely natives of distant lands, speaking different tongues, trained under different systems, and owing allegiance to different political governments? In course of time the actual majority might come from abroad, but even a minority holding the balance of power is equivalent to a majority.

There are also reasons against an ecumenical ecclesiastical government that affect the welfare of the foreign Conferences. The best interests of the foreign missions require that they should have home rule within the boundaries of their several nationalities. By being independent Churches they would avoid the distrust of foreign interference. Self-government strengthens self-respect, and this tends to give greater virility to the local Church. The bearing of responsibility develops the Church as well as the individual. This was illustrated in the case of the French Wesleyans. As long as they were under the direct control of the British Conference they had little prosperity, but, as soon as they were granted home rule, and could speak of themselves as a Church in and of France, they began to prosper. It is an interesting fact that the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States broke away from the control of Mr. Wesley. In 1784 it agreed to obey Mr. Wesley in "matters belonging to Church government," but in 1787 the Conference annulled the agreement, and Asbury said he "did not think it practical expediency to obey Mr. Wesley at three thousand miles' distance." If that be a sound principle other Methodist Episcopal Conferences thousands of miles away may some day deem it wise to adopt the same principle. Lower Canada was given up in the early days, and Upper Canada later asked and obtained its independence. Liberia, prior to the General Conference of 1880, took steps toward a severance of its relation with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and in 1883 the Liberia Conference, at a semicentennial celebration, declared that "the necessity of an independent organization of Methodism" in Liberia was "essentially necessary to vigorous life and local activity."

In 1880 efforts were made to have certain portions of the foreign work organized into independent Churches. The report on these requests was as follows:

The Committee on Missions, to whom were referred certain resolutions in favor of the organization of independent Methodist Episcopal Churches in Europe and Asia, respectfully report the following resolution :

Resolved, That it is premature to consider at this time the question of establishing independent Methodist Episcopal Churches in Europe and Asia.

This is an admission of the legality and possible propriety of the independence, though at that time it was deemed premature.

Later, Japan appealed to the General Conference of 1888 for autonomy, and the General Conference said:

This General Conference will not interpose any objections to the Japanese Methodists declaring themselves independent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, nor will they object to their uniting themselves with any or all other forms of Methodism that now exist or may exist in Japan, the same to be done according to the general basis of union proposed.

One of the delegates from China said if it had been known that this could have been done his Conference also would have asked for the same permission. Others probably will make similiar requests before many years, and it is not difficult to see that, whether India is thinking in that direction or not, the foundations are being laid for a great Methodism in that vast empire, and that this Methodism will govern itself.

Even now the Discipline provides for the organization of a "Central Conference" in our "foreign mission fields" which shall "be composed either of all the members of those Annual Conferences or missions [in said fields], or of representatives from the same, elected according to such ratio as may be agreed upon between the constituent parties," and to this "Central Conference" extensive powers are given. This is a great stride toward autonomy, and a reading of the chapter on "Central Mission Conferences" (Discipline, ¶ 86) will show that it requires very little further legislation to transform the Central Conference into a General Conference for the particular country in which such Conference may be located, so that when the day for independence comes the foreign fields will possess Conference machinery similar to that of the mother Church.

To bring about the independence of our missions in other lands will of course require judicious action, if it is to be

done safely. Some degree of home rule should be given them as soon as they are able to care for themselves even to a limited extent, and this should be developed into affiliation or complete independence. With missionary bishops they will have a duplicate of the American organization, and when they become self-governing the missionary bishops can remain with them. Whatever may be the adjustment, it must be provided that the American missionaries shall always have the way open for their return to the work in the United States. Then provision should be made to continue grants of missionary money according to the needs of the new organizations and under conditions of an equitable character, as, for example, that the same doctrines shall be taught as are held by the mother Church. There does not seem to be any legal difficulty in the way of such gifts. When the Canada Conference became independent the General Conference decided in favor of granting missionary money for missionary work under the direction of the Canada Methodist Episcopal Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States also aided the French Methodist Church in France, which never had any connection with the Church in this country. Even as late as 1884 the General Conference advised the General Missionary Committee to make an annual grant of money to the Evangelical Methodist Church of France and Switzerland.

Space does not permit a full presentation of this important subject. What has been given is simply suggestive. In conclusion, we must content ourselves by saying that the foreign missions should be cared for by the home Church with the greatest affection while they remain under the direct control of our Church, but when the time comes that they are capable of self-government the right should be cheerfully conceded, and further aid should be granted according to the need of the new Church.

T. B. Neely

Art. V.—THE WISDOM OF THE EGYPTIANS.

A great official, born in the time of Shepseskaf, near the close of the fourth dynasty, is described on his tomb as the "Scribe of the House of Books." This designation, which occurs quite incidentally, indicates the unexpected development of Egyptian civilization at this remote period. The recovered literature from the monuments of the Old and Middle Empires enables us to make an imperfect catalogue of the works which were doubtless deposited in such a library. Official documents would occupy the first place—registers of taxes and surveys of lands, deeds of gifts to temples, correspondence with feudal lords and governors of provinces, and all similar papers which would call for official action or recognition in the civil or military administration of the State. Then would follow religious work—prayers and devout poetry drawn from the literary treasures of the earlier dynasties, and even from sources which preceded the reign of Mena, hymns to the gods, the early chapters of the *Book of the Dead*, and other similar works, obscure and mystical, and collections of moral precepts. After these would be placed scientific treatises on medicine, mathematics, and astronomy; and, finally, those romances which precede all the luxuriant and marvelous stories of later oriental peoples. In the midst of much which is verbose and obscure there are many passages of pronounced beauty and wisdom.

In the Berlin Papyrus an Egyptian comforts himself as he contemplates death by conversing with his own soul; and the latter remarks—if we follow the paraphrase of M. Maspero—"I say to myself every day: 'As is the convalescence of a sick person who goes to the court after his affliction; as is the inhaling of the scent of a perfume; as a seat under the protection of an outstretched curtain; as the inhaling of the odor of a garden of flowers; as a seat upon the mountain of the Country of Intoxication; as a road which passes over the flood of inundation; as a man who goes as a soldier whom nothing resists; as the clearing again of the sky; as a man who goes out to catch birds with a net and suddenly finds himself in an unknown district—such is death.'"

The wise sayings of Ana are justly celebrated. They are preserved in the Papyrus de Boulaque, which belongs probably to the Middle Empire. Some of the precepts are worthy of modern authorship. Compare the following warning against strange women with the words of the author of Proverbs: "Beware of a woman from strange parts, whose city is not known. When she comes, do not look at her nor know her. She is the eddy in deep water, the depth of which is unknown. The woman whose husband is far off writes to thee every day. If no witness is near her she stands up and spreads out her net. O, fearful crime to listen to her!" But the old Egyptians had the deepest reverence for womanhood, and especially for motherhood. Ana exhorts his son, saying: "Thou shalt never forget what thy mother has done for thee. If thou forgetest her, she might blame thee; she might 'lift up her arms to God, and he would hear her complaint.'" The father was seldom represented in the tomb of the deceased, but the mother was usually so represented. In later times the usual custom was to trace the descent on the mother's side, and not on that of the father. The grandfather on the mother's side was the most deeply interested in his grandson. "When he is placed at the head of the court of justice, then the father of his mother thanks God." A young officer under the New Empire was received into the royal stables "for the sake of the father of his mother;" and when he went out to war he "gave his property into the charge of the father of his mother."

The instructions of Ana are in favor of industry, and the wise man declares that the idle shall not come to honor. Man should recognize the sanctity of his neighbor's house, and should enter only when invited; and then he should not let the eye of curiosity seek to know all that was in the house, and should be discreetly silent as to anything he might chance to observe. "Speak not too much, for men are deaf to the man of many words; be silent, rather; then shalt thou please. Before all things guard thy speech, for a man's ruin lies in his tongue." One is also warned against gluttony, and is taught charity and respect, especially for the aged.

The wise man also warns against drunkenness, and shows its evil effects. A teacher, hearing that his pupil had taken to strong drink, wrote sorrowfully:

I am told thou dost forsake books,
Thou dost abandon thyself to pleasure,
Thou dost wander from street to street;
Every evening the smell of beer,
The smell of beer scares away men,
It destroys thy soul.

Then after referring to the dangers to which the drunken youth is exposed, and the crime to which he is being led, the anxious teacher and friend cries:

O, that thou didst understand that wine is an abomination,
And that thou wouldest abjure the *shedeh* drink;
That thou didst not set thy heart on cool drinks,
And that thou wouldest forget the T'enreku.

But warnings and entreaties were as vain in old Egypt as in modern America, and many are the scenes of drunkenness painted on the monuments.

Prayer, according to Ana, was no mockery. "The sanctuary of the god—clamor is an abomination to him. Pray for thyself with loving heart, in which the words remain hidden; that he may supply thy need, hear thy words, and accept thy offering." Death also comes to the young, as well as to the old. Speaking to his son, Ana says: "The messenger comes to thee, even as to the old. Say not to him, 'I am young.' Death comes and takes as first offering the child from the mother's breast, as well as the man who has grown old."

More important still are the precepts of Ptahhotep, a monarch or prefect of King Assa, of the fifth dynasty, as found in the Papyrus Prisse, of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, which has been called "the oldest book in the world." The work was written—we might almost say published—when its author was one hundred and ten years of age. We may place the date at about B. C. 3800. Ptahhotep, "the favorite of Assa," calls himself "the royal son, firstborn, legitimate." Yet this may not after all prove his royal descent, but may rather indicate his high rank at court in questions of official etiquette. This is the opinion of M. Philippe Virey, who has given us the best translation and study of his work. The nature of his office may be better understood if we refer to what is known concerning Rekhmara, of the eighteenth dynasty, who may be considered his successor, though separated from him by many ages. Rekhmara calls himself "the favorite of the good god,"

or Thotmes III, and is even called "the double of the Pharaoh." The tomb of Rekhmara has furnished a series of valuable inscriptions which have been published by the members of the "Mission archéologique française au Caire." He sits on his divan, listens patiently to petitions, and dispenses justice without partiality. He repels neither small nor great, treats with especial tenderness the poor, the aged, and the afflicted, and may be always relied upon as a peacemaker. Rekhmara was perhaps raised to higher honors than Ptahhotep. He stood next the king in rank; and, in the absence of the latter, took his place, governing all Egypt, and being saluted in the same manner by the courtiers and addressed by the same titles.

It will be profitable to pass in review the precepts of Ptahhotep, following the translation of M. Philippe Virey. We cannot expect to meet with teachings which, in their beauty and ethical character, rival the proverbs of Solomon and his literary school, or express the high standard of morals now prevailing. We recognize more gladly, therefore, the gems of primeval ages these old records have preserved for our day and generation. They give us a high appreciation of ancient peoples and what they have done for the human race. The most remote point in Egyptian history reveals man in the full possession of a language, with a vocabulary and grammatical apparatus requiring more than a hundred generations for its development. There are already works on morals and religion; there are priests and sacrifices, altars and temples. There stand the pyramids—the earliest of them—structures built of stones so vast that they would test the mechanical skill of the most eminent engineers of the present day, even when aided by all modern appliances. Colors are compounded whose freshness and brilliancy have not yet died away; and household utensils and implements of industry are skillfully manufactured. Indeed, there are already all the appliances of a highly organized civilized life. These pure moral maxims of our old sage, in the midst of such surroundings, have an appropriate setting.

The moral precepts of this prefect of Assa were not written for the common people, but rather for the learned class. Like the Chinese sage, Confucius, the author we now study gathered up the wisdom of the past, and was no creator or announcer of new doctrines. He exhorts, "Let none make

innovations in the precepts of his father; let the same precepts form instructions to his children." * The struggle between the conservative and radical was already in progress; it is the struggle of to-day, and it is the struggle of all ages. It was expected that these precepts would be taught in the schools and discussed by the learned. They were put into poetic form that the student might the more easily commit them to memory, and that they thus "be carried without alteration over the earth eternally." There is some indication that students were subjected to a competitive examination as a prerequisite to their appointment to any post of honor and responsibility. "Let him win success by placing himself in the first rank." † Knowledge is especially praised, and earnestly commended to the young. "The gates of knowledge are not closed" are the encouraging words of Ptahhotep, and Ana exhorts, "Love letters as thy mother." But learning cannot be obtained without paying the price of pains and labor. "Good words are more difficult to find than the emerald, for it is by slaves that that is discovered among the rocks of pegmatite." One possessed of learning commands the respect of his fellows. Words should indeed be few, but thoughts abundant. To instruct the young is a command of the god; and wise is he who gives attention to instruction.‡

The fact that these precepts were addressed only to the learned will in some measure explain the limited range of subjects. They are such precepts as would help the officer employed in affairs of government, the father of a family, and the well-to-do citizen generally, to fill his place with honor; while they would encourage the dependent and subordinate to remain contented and happy in their place and lot, and not give way to unreasonable and sinful restiveness under that providence which has ordained these ranks in society.

There is not always full consistency in the precepts of this old writer. We note, in this respect, that honest labor is commended; while, on the other hand, it is elsewhere declared that inactivity is especially honorable. Many precepts are, however, consistent. The extortioner is condemned in strong words; and the thief brings scorn, malediction, and hatred upon his own children, grievous distress upon his father, and sorrow upon

* Chap. xiii. † Chap. xxxviii. ‡ Chaps. i, ii, xxxix.

his mother.* Faithfulness on the part of those who are in a low estate is earnestly enjoined; and to superiors proper respect should be studiously paid. A man who has attained a high position in social and governmental circles should guard himself against flattery; it will harm but not help. When an opinion is asked in the presence of a lord it should be given frankly and without reticence. A man should deport himself with especial circumspection in the presence of women.† Love should be inspired, but not fear. Says Ptahhotep, "Inspire not man with fear—God will fight against thee in the same manner;" and again, "Let no one inspire men with fear; this is the will of God." Everything, indeed, should be done with reference to God. It is he who gives the increase to the flocks and fields. The agriculturist gathers of his bounty, and the rich man is but his "steward."‡ A man should learn to speak only that which is good. There are four arguments which may be used for the enforcement of good conduct: it pleases God, it secures a profitable position for the docile and laborious student, it attracts good domestics to the family, and it tends to long life.

We can better estimate the value of these precepts if we study the exact words of the author.§ It will be recalled that he published his work when far advanced in years. Immediately following his preface he presents this picture of old age:

> The progress of age changes into senility. Decay falls upon man and decline takes the place of youth. A vexation weighs upon him every day; sight fails, the ear becomes deaf; his strength dissolves without ceasing. The mouth is silent, speech fails him; the mind decays, remembering not the day before. The whole body suffers. That which is good becomes evil; taste completely disappears. Old age makes a man altogether miserable; the nose is stopped up, breathing no more from exhaustion.‖

* Chaps. ix, xxxvi; comp. Prov. xvii, 25.

† Chaps. xxxv, xxxi, xiv, xv, xviii; comp. Ecclus. ix, 9; Prov. vi, 29. Comp. also with the palimpsest papyrus in the Musée du Louvre, x, 9, No. 2114, eighteenth precept.

‡ Chaps. vi, ix, x, vii, xii, xxvi, xxx, xxxix, xliv.

§ Several translations have been made by different hands. Perhaps we may be justified in the assumption that the most recent comes nearest to the thought of the author, since the translator has the advantage in possessing the results of all his predecessors in the same field. M. Philippe Virey, whom we have already mentioned, and to whose introduction we are under obligations, has studied the Papyrus Prisse, which contains the manual of the maxims of Ptahhotep, most perseveringly, as he himself informs us, since 1881; and his translation, with introduction and notes, is published in the third volume of the new series of *Records of the Past*. We shall not go far astray if we follow this authority.

‖ Chap. i. Although this chapter suffers in comparison with the beautiful poetic picture of Eccles. xii, we must not on that account deny its realism and accuracy.

Great importance is very properly attached to the education of children. The mind of a son should be well stored with "the sayings of former days." To this end paternal authority should be maintained, since the old Egyptians recognized the family as the foundation of society. The author says:

> If thou art a wise man, bring up a son who shall be pleasing to God. If he conforms his conduct to thy way and occupies himself with thy affairs as is right, do to him all the good thou canst; he is thy son, a person attached to thee, whom thine own self hath begotten. Separate not thy heart from him. . . . If he conducts himself ill and transgresses thy wish, if he rejects all counsel, if his mouth goes according to the evil word, strike him on the mouth in return. Give orders without hesitation to those who do wrong, to him whose temper is turbulent; and he will not deviate from the straight path, and there will be no obstacle to interrupt the way.

Concerning the direction, "Strike him on the mouth in return," M. Virey says, "It is probable that there is here a sort of play upon the words," and suggests that the meaning is, "Strike directly against a bad direction." The Egyptians were especially fond of such play upon words—leading sometimes to strange etymological conceits and passages whose obscurity cannot be penetrated, but also giving rise to some poetical expressions of merit and beauty—yet we now recall nothing in the customs of the Egyptians which would forbid a literal interpretation of the words.

Other sentiments on the advantages of obedience in children are as follows:

> Twice good is the precept of our father, from whom we have issued, from his flesh. What he tells us, let it be fixed in our heart; to satisfy him greatly, let us do for him more than he has prescribed. Verily a good son is one of the gifts of God, a son who does better than he has been told. For his master he does what is satisfactory, putting himself with all his heart on the part of right.
>
> A son who attends is like a follower of Horus; he is happy after having attended. He becomes great, he arrives at dignity, he gives the same lesson to his children.*

Ptahhotep exhorts man, if he would be wise, to labor industriously, that his household may be prosperous and happy. The influence of the wife and mother must have been most helpful, though the husband was her lord and master; she was to be

* Chaps. xlii, xxxix.

provided for with a liberal hand, and treated with love and tenderness. The motive urged for this considerate and kind treatment was not the highest, if we take the words literally, but was that her "chain" might be "pleasant." We prefer, however, to assign to the word "chain" another meaning, and one in harmony with the sweet bondage of love.

Says the prefect-sage upon these obligations:

Be active during the time of thy existence, doing more than is commanded. Do not spoil the time of thy activity; he is a blameworthy person who makes a bad use of his moments. Do not use the daily opportunity of increasing that which thy house possesses. Activity produces riches, and riches do not endure when it slackens.*

If thou art wise, look after thy house; love thy wife without alloy. Fill her stomach, clothe her back, these are the cares on her person; . . . it is a kindness which does honor to its possessor. Let her be more contented than any of her fellow-citizens. She will be attached to thee doubly, if her chain is pleasant. Do not repel her; grant that which pleases her; it is to her contentment that she appreciates thy direction.

There is a better way than violence by which to maintain an influence over a wife. The husband should study to know "to what she aspires, at what she aims, what she regards." Among the wise admonitions of the palimpsest papyrus of the Musée du Louvre, x, 9, No. 2114, is found the following: "May it not happen to you to maltreat your wife, whose strength is less than thine, but may she find in you a protector." Deveria, whose translation we follow, quotes the old Sanskrit proverb, "Strike not a wife even with a feather." †

The great man should study to maintain moderation and calmness. His commands should not be so announced as to suggest the tyrant. He should avoid, on the one hand, pride and haughtiness, and, on the other hand, meanness of spirit. He should show a ready kindness to his poor neighbors. An inferior should avoid offensive words in the presence of a superior; and yet he should speak the exact truth, when called upon to speak at all, and that without fear or favor. None should venture to interrupt the great man when engaged in business. Words should always be carefully guarded and chosen thoughtfully and with wisdom, more especially so when sitting in the council of the great. Man should not always

* Chap. xi; comp. Prov. x, 4; xiii, 4. † Chaps. xxi, xxxvii.

speak: there is even a time to be silent. But we will again permit Ptahhotep himself to announce his own precepts:

If thou art powerful, respect knowledge and calmness of language. Command only to direct; to be absolute is to run into evil. Let not thy heart be haughty, neither let it be mean. Do not let thy orders remain unsaid, and cause thy answers to penetrate; but speak without heat, assume a serious countenance. As for the vivacity of an ardent heart, temper it; the gentle man penetrates obstacles.

If thou hast become great after having been little, if thou hast become rich after having been poor, when thou art at the head of the city know how not to take advantage of the fact that thou hast reached the first rank. . . . Thou art become only the steward of the good things of God. Put not behind thee the neighbor who is like unto thee; but be unto him as a companion.

Surely sentiments so noble are worthy of being preserved in the exact words of the sage who gave them utterance. Egypt has something yet to say to these modern times. We do well to listen to these venerable voices.

The art of listening is as important as that of speaking. A truly wise man is a good listener. The duty of listening attentively, retaining in the memory accurately, and transmitting to others fully, clearly, and exactly, is insisted upon by the sage of Egypt with especial emphasis. Nothing is to be added to the message and nothing subtracted from it; nor yet are the words of the message to be changed. Exact truthfulness is required. The wise man will learn much from the conversation of others and profit from their experience; and thus he will be able to make constant additions to his practical knowledge. On this point Ptahhotep says:

As for the man without experience, who listens not, he effects nothing whatsoever. He sees knowledge in ignorance, profit in loss; he commits all kinds of error, always accordingly choosing the contrary of what is praiseworthy. He lives on that which is mortal, in this fashion. His food is evil words, whereat he is filled with astonishment.*

If thou art a son of the guardians deputed to watch over the public tranquillity, execute without knowing, and speak with firmness. Substitute not, for that which the instructor has said, his intention; the great use words as it suits. Thy part is to transmit rather than to comment upon.†

Some of the rules of social etiquette remind us of those of Confucius. A man should exercise especial thoughtfulness

* Chap. xii. † Chap. xxviii.

when he sits with company in the house of a person more noble than himself. He cannot but regard what is just before his eyes, but he must not point at it or look at it too curiously. "He is a blameworthy person who departs from this rule." He should not be forward to speak to the great man; but he should not hesitate when invited to speak. His words will then be acceptable and pleasing. The great man, if he has abundant financial resources, feels himself independent, and does and says what he pleases. He works or rests according to his own will, and not the will of another. He can do with appropriateness that which would be considered offensive in others. "As the means of existence are under the will of God, one cannot rebel against it." The law of fitness is applicable to all people and all stations in social, business, and political life.*

Homage is due to the great man, and we should render unto everyone his due. If the laborer labor for another and gather for him his crop, he should give a full return to the owner to whom he owes his subsistence. Gifts of affection are more valuable than the garments wherewith the body is covered. The great man may extend his charities from a motive which is not free from selfishness. Ptahhotep says:

For that which the great man receives from thee will enable thy house to live, without speaking of the maintenance thou enjoyest, which thou desirest to preserve; it is thereby that he extends a beneficent hand, and that in thy home good things are added to good things. Let thy love pass into the heart of those who love thee; cause those about thee to be loving and obedient.†

If thou abasest thyself in obeying a superior, thy conduct is entirely good before God. Knowing who ought to obey and who ought to command, do not lift up thy heart against him. As thou knowest that in him is authority, be respectful toward him as belonging to him. Fortune comes only at her own good will, and her caprice only is her law.‡

If thou hast, as leader, to decide on the conduct of a great number of men, seek the most perfect manner, that thy conduct may be without reproach. Justice is great, invariable, and assured; it has not been disturbed since the age of Osiris. To throw obstacles in the way of the laws is to open the way before violence.

If thou art a leader, setting forward thy plans according to that which thou decidest, perform perfect actions which posterity may remember,

* Chap. vii; comp. Prov. xxiii, 1. † Chap. xxvii. ‡ Chap. x.

without letting the words prevail which multiply flattery, excite pride, and produce vanity. *

The gentleman will regard the opinions of others. He will not display his own wisdom if another thereby may be led to feel too sensitively his own deficiency. Every opinion, however poor the foundation upon which it rests, should be treated with consideration, and every disputant with courtesy. The ignorant should not be humiliated, but rather encouraged to subject the question under discussion to more thorough investigation. But we will permit the sage to speak again:

If thou aimest at polished manners, call not him whom thou accostest. Converse with him especially in such a way as not to annoy him. Enter on a discussion with him only after having left him time to saturate his mind with the subject of the conversation. If he lets his ignorance display itself, and if he gives thee an opportunity to disgrace him, treat him with courtesy, rather proceed not to drive him into a corner. . . . Answer not in a crushing manner; crush him not; worry him not.†

Very particular directions are given urging to the display of calmness and evenness of temper. Bad humor is "a fatal malady," and contains "all kinds of wrong." The middle path is the one for man to tread, if he would be wise. The self-contained man has the advantage over him who gives way to excitement and anger. He can plead his own cause better; and he also gains more readily the sympathy of those who hear. Anger is a species of intoxication. It rouses to a great display of power for the moment, though this power is likely to be misdirected, but a weakness follows which tends toward permanency. By all means, then, anger should be avoided. If the tormentor determines to drive him to anger, the wise man will remain silent or quietly leave his presence. We cannot improve upon the following words of Ptahhotep:

If thou findest a disputant while he is hot, and if he is superior to thee in ability, lower the hands, bend the back, do not get into a passion with him. As he will not let thee destroy his words, it is utterly wrong to interrupt him; that proclaims that thou art incapable of keeping thyself calm when thou art contradicted. If thou then hast to do with a disputant while he is hot, imitate one who does not stir. Thou hast the advantage over him if thou keepest silence when he is uttering evil words. "The better is he who is impassive," say the bystanders, and thou art right in the opinion of the great.‡

* Chaps. v, xvi. † Chap. xxxiii. ‡ Chap. iii; comp. Prov. xv, 1.

If thou desirest that thy conduct should be good and preserved from all evil, keep thyself from every attack of bad humor. It is a fatal malady which leads to discord, and there is no longer any existence for him who gives way to it. . . . It contains all kinds of wickedness, it embodies all kinds of wrong. When a man has established his just equilibrium and walks in this path, there where he makes his dwelling, there is no room for bad humor.*

Be not of an irritable temper in regard to thy neighbors; better is a compliment to that which displeases than rudeness. It is wrong to get into a passion with one's neighbors, to be no longer master of one's words.

If thou art annoyed at a thing, if thou art tormented by some one who is acting without his right, get out of his sight, and remember him no more when he has ceased to address thee.†

In the study of this collection of ancient precepts, perhaps the oldest in the world, written more than five thousand years ago, we might have multiplied references to the Book of Proverbs; but enough have been made to show several interesting points of contact. We must not look upon this collection of Ptahhotep as intended to constitute a complete code of morals. It is rather a book of wise sayings, current in the time of the author, enlarged by contributions drawn from his own observations and experience, and referring to business ethics, court and social etiquette, domestic duties, and practical wisdom. The great body of these precepts cluster around the relations of superior and inferior, instructor and pupil, husband and wife, father and son, and friend and friend. While duties are enforced by reference to the relations sustained to God and the desire to please him, there is little special teaching on this line. Religious precepts, as distinguished from moral and practical, do not seem to have come within the range of the author's plan. We would better appreciate the value of these moral maxims if we were to compare them with those of the world's wisest sages. Such a comparison will convince us that—especially if we consider the remote period in antiquity to which he belonged—Ptahhotep will not suffer if we place him side by side with Epictetus, Antoninus, and other great moralists whose works occupy an honorable place in the libraries of to-day.

Several interesting questions present themselves—as the

* Chap. xix; comp. Prov. xiv, 29; xv, 18.
† Chaps. xx, xxix; comp. Prov. xvi, 32; xix, 11.

origin of proverbs, whether poetry may not be the natural language of primitive peoples, why the purest writings stand so near the beginnings of ancient literature—but their answers must be deferred. We will mention, however, a single point. In this work of the old prefect we learn something of the ground of our reasonable belief in the integrity of the writings bequeathed to us from the ancients. The art of writing was thought to have been the invention of a god who taught his own people the valuable secret. The letters themselves were held in reverence, and, at least among some nations, speech was deified. The wise sayings of the fathers, which were perhaps thought to have come down from the golden age, and, hence, with probability from the gods, were especially reverenced. The greatest care would be taken to write them accurately and to remember them tenaciously. Ptahhotep exhorts, "Take not away one word, and add not one; put not one thing in place of another." * Children were diligently taught the exact words of the precepts of the ancients. The feudal prince whose works we are studying gave his precepts the poetic form in order to preserve them the more surely from possible change. Egyptian poetry, in the sublimity of its language, its parallelisms and antitheses, its cadences, and the ornament of a burden, resembles the poetry of the ancient Hebrews. Written with the poetic rhythm, the contents of the production would be more easily committed to memory and more readily recalled; and besides all this, if a mistake should be made, it would be speedily detected and the original form discovered. The text would be powerfully guarded against corruption. The corruption of the text would still be possible, and might indeed frequently occur, but the probabilities of corruption in any given case would be reduced to the lowest terms. The archaic poems scattered through the early books of the Old Testament are doubtless genuine specimens of the earliest Hebrew composition preserved in their substantial integrity.

* Chap. xiii.

J. N. Fradenburgh.

Art. VI.—THE "DIVINE COMEDY."

An enterprising publisher once asked Victor Hugo to prepare for him a selection from his works to be issued in one volume. The great French writer replied with characteristic indignation, "Would you ask a tourist to bring you from Chamouni a pebble as a sample of Mont Blanc?" With such a feeling one will greet any attempt to give an idea of Dante's "Divine Comedy" within the narrow limits of a magazine article. The poem is so vast that at first approach we are overpowered. Only after long and earnest study can we realize its greatness and seize the multitudinous details comprised in its mighty structure. And yet, as Dean Church says, "those who know the *Divina Commedia* best will best know how hard it is to be interpreter of such a mind; but they will sympathize with the wish to call attention to it. They know, and would wish others to know also, not by hearsay, but by experience, the power of that wonderful poem." A book parts of which Ruskin has declared to be little short of the miraculous, a book containing passages that Walter Savage Landor and Goethe have placed far above all other poetry, a book that has won the lifelong devotion of such scholars as Hegel and Schopenhauer, Tholuck and Schelling, Longfellow and Lowell —such a book must surely be worthy of study.

The outer form which Dante gave to his poem was nothing new or original. Visions of journeys into the other world were common during the Middle Ages. The limits between the unseen life and ours were not so definite then as now, and the undiscovered country seemed very real. The mysteries, and the miracle plays with their three stages representing earth, heaven, and hell, which were often produced in the public squares of Italian cities, were undoubtedly as familiar to Dante as the puppet shows of the Faust legend long after were to the boy Goethe, to whom they gave the first suggestion of that drama which was to sum up all the development of his mind and soul. As the year 1000 drew near the whole Christian world was expectant of the millennium foretold by St. John, when Satan, after being bound a thousand years, should be loosed, and death and hell should deliver up their

dead. The terror which then smote men's souls can still be seen in the literature and customs of the times. Human imagination, stirred by the vision of the seer of Patmos, penetrated into the mysteries of the life to come, and out of the details given by St. John—the bottomless pit, the lake of brimstone and fire, the dragons and serpents, the angels and the great white throne—men wrought a whole system of supernatural worlds. These fancies and speculations were written and read and told, and passed into the very life of mediæval society. It is useless to seek for any one vision which may have served Dante as a model; there were a number of them, and he simply followed the beliefs of his time in giving to his poem the form of a journey through hell, purgatory, and paradise.

What differentiated him, however, from his predecessors is that he made his vision a carefully wrought out allegory which, besides containing wonderful poetry, is also an epitome of the poet's own life and of the whole mediæval world. That the allegory exists there can be no doubt; Dante himself distinctly tells us so, if the letter to Can Grande della Scala be genuine. What the real meaning is has been the subject of more or less discussion. The older commentators, such as Boccaccio and Pietro Alighieri, make the allegory a religious one—"to free men from their sins, to direct them toward the purgation of their souls, and to strengthen them in holiness and virtue," says the latter. Later commentators, on the other hand, have been more inclined to give a politico-historical meaning to the allegory. Both are probably right. But there is a personal allegory in the poem as well. Dante himself is the chief actor. He it is who is lost in the world of sin, who is repulsed from the mount of peace and consolation by the wolf, the panther, and the lion. Vergil, representing earthly wisdom, or reason, and Beatrice, representing divine wisdom, or illuminating grace, lead him through the darksome ways of hell and up over the craggy heights of purgatory to the paradise of God. We are told that it is necessary for him to make this journey in order to gain full experience of God's purpose and to reach that liberty which is more precious than life itself. But when he has reached the heaven of the fixed stars, where he sees the glory of Christ surrounded by the apostles, St. Peter, with holy indignation at the corruption of the Church, tells him to

relate his vision to the world lying in sin and suffering: "And thou, my son, when thou shalt return below, open thou thy mouth and hide not what I hide not from thee." Not only is the world lying in spiritual wretchedness, but owing to the unholy desire for temporal power on the part of God's vicar all Italy is full of war, murder, and rapine; city is arrayed against city, family against family; and pity, patriotism, and religion seem lost forever in the endless civil strife. To change this state of things Dante wrote his poem. Ugo Foscolò says that the poet undoubtedly believed his mission to be apostolic and consecrated. His was not to reform the Church alone, as Luther did, but the world, society, man. Vergil, as reason, was to show men the folly of the political suicides of the day; Beatrice, as faith, was to lift their eyes to those hills whence cometh all help.

But, after all, the allegory is not a very important part of the "Divine Comedy." The poem compels our undying admiration because it is a drama in which we see move across the stage the mighty forms of all lands and ages. Greece and Rome are there; and Dante, boldest among poets, gives us a living, breathing picture of his own times and country. Among these spirits who have left such deep footprints in the sands of time we see the grim figure of the poet himself—the exile and partisan, full of hate and indignation, yet inspired by the noblest ideals for Church and State, and touched by the tenderest sympathy for all that is sweet and good. It is this intensely personal stamp that makes the "Divine Comedy" so real; the throbbings of the poet's heart, the longings of his soul, his words of fierce denunciation, with the sublime poetry in which they are embalmed, make the book unique among the world's volumes.

In order to a clear conception of Dante's journey through the three supernatural kingdoms we must have some intelligent idea of his universe. His system of astronomy was that of Ptolemy. From any spherical substance that represents the earth—for Dante knew that the earth is round—cut out a section in the shape of an inverted cone, the apex being at the center; remove this carefully and place its base on the surface of the sphere exactly opposite the place whence it was taken. The cavity thus made will represent hell, and the cone purgatory. Paradise comprises the heavens of the planets and fixed

stars, and the crystalline heaven, all of which revolve about the earth; and beyond stretches out to infinity the empyrean, motionless in itself but the source of all motion, where abides the ineffable splendor of God, surrounded by hierarchies of cherubim and seraphim, angels and archangels, principalities and powers. Hell is divided into nine circles, sloping down toward a yawning abyss in the center, the depth of which is measured by half the diameter of the earth. It is impossible to give an idea of the variety of these circles, each one bearing its individual stamp and presenting all the diversities of natural scenery that Dante had seen in the world above—woods and rivers, plains and valleys—but all shrouded in an atmosphere of darkness and terror. The Mount of Purgatory is situated on an island in the Southern Sea, and rises sheer up through the atmosphere which surrounds its lower portion, while at its top the earthly paradise basks eternally in the light of the sun, untouched by the atmospheric changes that affect its base. Purgatory is divided into seven terraces, which, with antepurgatory and the earthly paradise, form nine divisions and thus correspond to the nine circles of hell and the nine heavens. Dante's theory as to the origin of hell and purgatory is very naïve in its seriousness. When Lucifer was flung out of heaven he fell headlong to the earth and penetrated to its center. The southern hemisphere shrank in terror before his face and covered itself with the waters of the great deep, while out of the interior a great mass was thrown up and formed the mountain of purgatory.

Scattered over the infernal circles and the purgatorial terraces is the infinite multitude of souls who sinned on the earth, and who are now punished with all the refinements of horror which the mind of the poet can invent. In hell the punishment is eternal; in purgatory it is expiatory and temporary; in both it is physical and moral. The damned are not only tormented with fire and sword, with fever and thirst, but are filled with hate toward God and each other; they blaspheme the Creator and curse their parents and their birth. The physical punishment of the "Divine Comedy" is founded on the Old Testament principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Dante has often been accused of excessive cruelty in his conception of punishment; but he wrote according to the religious ideas of his times. In loading hypocrites with heavy cloaks of

gilded lead he undoubtedly took the idea from Frederick II, who was wont to clothe traitors in a similar manner and then burn them alive. The terrible story of Piero Dolcino's public torture in the streets of Novara shows to what refinements of cruelty Dante's contemporaries could stoop. The poet gives a correspondence, literal or figurative, between a sin and its punishment. Thus, the licentious are forever blown about by a fierce wind, because on earth they had been the sport of the whirlwind of passion; the gluttonous lie in filth like swine; schismatics are cloven asunder; murderers and tyrants are plunged into rivers of boiling blood; in purgatory the proud are crushed beneath heavy burdens, and the envious have their eyelids sewn together. One striking difference between the punishments of purgatory and hell is that in the former place the soul desires its own torment, which renders it capable of coming at least to peace and joy in the Lord. As hate is the prevailing note in hell, in purgatory love softens suffering and soothes pain. Not with blasphemies do souls there receive the recompense of their sins, but with sweet old Latin hymns of praise and hope. "Salve Regina," "Te Lucis Ante," "Beati Pauperes Spiritu"—these are the sounds which greet the wanderers as they mount from terrace to terrace toward the summit whose ascent becomes more easy as they rise.

Dante's doctrine of the forms of the souls that inhabit these kingdoms coincides with that of the Church fathers. They are living, breathing shadows, made of some spiritual substance; for their mortal bodies still lie in the grave, and only after the last judgment shall body and spirit be reunited. But these shadows have flesh and blood, and are capable of intensest physical suffering. It is often hard to see any essential difference between them and the human body. In paradise the blessed have practically no body; they are light and stars and splendors which flash and corruscate in dazzling brilliancy. There are two kinds of devils in hell—the guardian and the ministering—the latter plying their functions with fiendish joy and diabolical faithfulness. There is here a curious mingling of Christianity and classic mythology. We find among these devils Minos, Pluto, Cerberus, and the Harpies. Some explain this by saying that Dante was deeply saturated with classic antiquity and could not free himself from its influence. Others,

perhaps more correctly, point out that the early Christian Church metamorphosed the gods of Greece and Rome into demons. This we find in Augustine and Origen; St. Paul, it will be remembered, says, "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God;" and even to later times the Venusberg in the Thuringian Forest, which plays so great a part in Wagner's opera of Tannhäuser, bears witness to the tenacity with which old Grecian divinities clung to mediæval legends. The guardians of purgatory and paradise are beautiful angels, with white, or green, or golden wings, and faces as of flame. In purgatory their chief functions are to guard the entrances to the different terraces, while in heaven all that the poet says of them can be summed up in the words "light," "flight," and "song."

Indeed, the higher we ascend the less realistic does the "Divine Comedy" become. Instead of the pictures which, in the "Inferno," stand out with such startling vividness we have in "Purgatory" beautiful descriptions, whose impressiveness lies rather in the purely musical and spiritual elements of poetry. In "Paradise" light and music are almost the only materials used by Dante. This is one reason why more people read "Inferno" than "Purgatory" or "Paradise;" although "Purgatory" is far more attractive in the pure loveliness of its poetry. In "Paradise" there are so many philosophical and theological discussions, and such a golden haziness in descriptions almost entirely composed of the different effects of light, that it is not so interesting to the "dullard mind" in its ordinary moods. And yet, for the marvelous way in which these light effects are handled, and for the consummate art with which these arid discussions are wrought into sublimest poetry, "Paradise" is undoubtedly the greatest of all Dante's works.

The action of the "Divine Comedy" begins at Easter in the year 1300—"Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita," says Dante in the first line—that is, in the midst of the journey of his life, when he was thirty-five years old. He has lost his way in a dark wood, and as he tries to gain a distant mountain top he is filled with dismay at the sight of three fierce beasts who block his way. As he retreats a spirit coming toward him makes itself known as the poet Vergil, whose "Æneid" has been Dante's lifelong study. Vergil has been sent to his relief by Beatrice, Lucia,

and the blessed Virgin; and tells him that, to escape from the wood of error and sin, he must pass through the bitterness of hell and so up to the *alto lume*, the light of God on high. With renewed courage the poet signifies his willingness to undertake the lofty task, and the two wanderers make their way toward the portals of hell, which they reach as day begins to decline. It is during the first hours of twilight, as the world lies down to tranquil sleep, that Dante begins his weird journey into the undiscovered country filled with unutterable darkness and horror.

Over the gate in dark letters are written these tremendous words:

> Through me ye go to the city of grief;
> Through me ye go to everlasting woe;
> Through me ye go to the souls that are damned.
> Justice moved my lofty Maker; Divine Power made me,
> Supreme Wisdom and Primal Love.
> Before was naught created, only
> Things eternal; and I eternal shall endure.
> Leave all hope behind, O ye who enter here.

Passing through the gate beneath this dread inscription, and making their way across the vestibule of hell, inhabited by the ignoble souls of those who were neither God's enemies nor his friends, they reach the river Acheron, over which the poet is carried in a swoon.

Hell proper begins with the second circle, and here dwell in a stately castle the souls of the virtuous men of ancient days, whose only punishment for an unbelief in Christ for which they are not responsible is to live always in desire without hope. Vergil and Dante pass through the midst of these venerable spirits, who speak rarely and with soft voices, and soon issue out upon the full fury of the infernal world. As they stand in the third circle and gaze upon the innumerable company of the licentious, blown hither and thither by a wind which roars like the sea in a storm, Dante's attention is attracted to two souls who still cling together, although tossed about like chaff before the breeze. He calls to them and invites them to approach. Leaving the band where Dido is, they fly toward the wanderers, and while a brief hush stills the air Francesca da Rimini tells her sad story of love and crime, in words full of deathless beauty and pathos. As Dante listened, so strongly did pity

seize upon his heart that he fainted and fell as one that is dead. Midnight found the two poets standing at the foot of a tower on the shore of the Stygian marsh, whose sullen waters plashed in the inky darkness. Hours had passed since Dante fell into the swoon. On awakening he found himself moving forward and downward in the third circle; and saw the gluttonous beaten down upon by the heavily falling, rotting rain, and the misers and spendthrifts rolling heavy rocks against each other and cursing each other's sins. And now as the travelers peer through the murky air, looking for some way of crossing the putrid waters of the marsh, suddenly two lights flash from the top of the tower beside them; and soon a swift bark approaches the shore, and, entering in, the wanderers are rowed across by the fierce-mouthed boatman Phlegyas.

Nearing the other shore, they see looming up vaguely the walls of the infernal city of Dis, in shape like a mediæval fortress, surrounded by deep ditches, and with towers which gleam blood-red. Thousands of demons swarm on the walls and defend the entrance; high up on the summit of the towers stand the three furies stained with blood and girdled and crowned with writhing serpents. "Let Medusa come," they cry, "and turn him into stone." And now doubt assails the heart of Vergil, and Dante's courage failing, he would fain turn back; when lo, with earthquake and thunder roll, appears a celestial messenger, before whom the devils fly in terror and the gates of the city open. As they enter, there stretches out, as far as eye can reach, an immense graveyard, a sort of subterranean Père la Chaise, crowded thick with tombs whose sides are red-hot and from whose half-open covers issue flames. In them those who denied the immortality of the soul must dwell through all eternity. Here occurs that memorable colloquy between Dante and the fierce old Ghibelline chief, Farinata degli Uberti, who alone after the battle of Monteaperti saved Florence from being razed to the ground. Here too occurs the touching scene when Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti, the father of Dante's intimate friend Guido, falls back into his tomb in despair, after hearing, as he thinks, the confirmation of his son's death.

In the beginning of the eighteenth canto of the "Inferno" we find the words, "There is a place in hell called Malebolge." To this place, these evil pits of hell, the poets next come after

many varied experiences. On leaving the city of Dis they had clambered down a rocky precipice over which the Phlegethon thundered in a mighty waterfall, forming at the bottom a river of boiling blood where tyrants and murderers were plunged. Crossing this river on the back of a centaur, they had entered a grewsome wood, whose gnarled trees extended to a vast sandy plain where flakes of flame fell as snow falls in the still air of Alpine mountains. As they issued from the wood of the suicides and walked along the stony margin of a stream Dante saw and greeted with loving words "the dear, paternal image" of Brunetto Latini, who in youth had taught him how men may make themselves eternal. Then, having descended a tremendous abyss on the back of the monster Gerione, they reached the ten concentric ditches, the Malebolge, where ten different kinds of fraud are punished. In these evil pits is more horror, filth, grotesqueness, and cruelty than in all the rest of the "Inferno." Passing over rocky bridges, sometimes chased by uncouth devils, the wanderers look down upon the wretched souls below—hypocrites and barterers, panderers and flatterers —bitten by serpents, plunged in lakes of boiling pitch, immersed in filth, or hewn asunder by the sword. Hour after hour they pass on through these scenes, stopping from time to time to talk with the wretches below, until finally they reach the well of the giants and are set down by Antæus at the lowest point in hell, which is, at the same time, the center of the universe.

In the fourteenth canto there is a passage full of mysterious grandeur, in which the poet allegorically describes the vicissitudes of time, or, as some think, of the different forms of government. On Mount Ida, in the island of Crete, there stands the figure of an old man with his back turned toward Damietta and his face toward Rome. Like the figure seen by Nebuchadnezzar, its head is formed of pure gold, its arms and breast are of silver, and the rest is of brass and iron, except the right foot, which is of clay. All parts but the gold are rent, and from the fissures tears drop down into the abyss and form the rivers Styx, Acheron, and Phlegethon; and, finally settling at the bottom, they are frozen by the intense cold generated by the six wings of Lucifer and form the icy lake of Cocytus. The poets have here reached the last stage of their journey through hell. As they walk over the glassy surface of the frozen lake they see

beneath their feet, like straws in ice or insects in amber, the miserable souls of traitors against relatives, friends, country, and benefactors. Dante's glance here falls upon two spirits buried to the neck in the ice, one of whom is gnawing with fiendish rage the other's head. In answer to his question he learns that this is Ugolino della Gherardesca, who, having been betrayed by Bishop Ruggieri degli Ubaldini, was shut up in the tower of hunger at Pisa, and there with his sons and grandsons starved to death. Goethe has said that the lines containing the sad narrative of Ugolino belong to the highest order of composition ever produced by poetic art.

A little window in the tower, which is now named after me, the tower of hunger, had shown me already many moons when I fell into the evil sleep which tore asunder the veil of my future. . . . When I woke in the early hours of morning I heard my little children weeping in their sleep and asking for bread. Verily art thou cruel if thou grievest not, thinking what then my heart forbode me, and if thou weepest not now, at what then wilt thou ever weep? Quickly they were awake, and the hour approached when food had been wont to be brought to us, and each one was sore afraid on account of his dream. I heard the door of the terrible tower locked below us; wherefore I looked my children in the face but said not a word. I did not weep; my heart was stone within me. But they wept and my little Anselm said, "Father, what ails thee? thou lookest so strange!" And yet I wept not, nor did I answer that whole day long and the night that followed, until the next sun rose upon the world. When a little light had entered our dolorous prison, and I saw my own features reflected in my children's faces, I bit my hands for grief. And they, thinking I did this from desire of eating, suddenly rose and said, "Father, it will be far less painful for us if thou wilt eat us; thou hast clothed us with this flesh, do thou despoil us of it." I calmed myself then, in order not to make them still more sad. That day and the next we remained mute. Alas, hard earth! why didst thou not then open beneath me?

When we had come to the fourth day my Gaddo laid himself at my feet and cried, "O, my father, why dost thou not help me?" And there he died; and just as you see me now I saw the three fall, one by one, between the fifth day and the sixth. And then, having become blind, I groped upon the face of each. Three days I called upon them after they were dead; and then starvation was stronger than my grief.

First descending, and then climbing along the hairy sides of the prodigious body of Lucifer, the poets next leave hell and, by a rocky, almost perpendicular path, clamber painfully upward until they finally issue out into the light of heaven and see

once more the stars. No words but those of the poet himself can describe the scene as, smoke-begrimed and choked with the fumes of hell, they gaze upon the sky of sweet oriental sapphire and drink in the air that blows fresh and sweet from the southern sea sparkling beneath the first rays of the morning sun. Nor can we linger over that other scene, when the newly arrived spirits descend from the angel's boat with the songs of the redeemed on their lips; when Dante meets his old friend the musician Casella; and when the company listens, as the latter sings one of Dante's songs, until Cato drives them with rebukes toward the mount they must ascend. The poets from the foot of the mountain clamber on hands and knees toward the entrance gate, which lies high above them. On the way they pass many souls who have put off salvation until too late or have died in contumacy with Holy Church and here must linger for a certain time before they enter on the work of purging away their sins. About three in the afternoon they meet the troubadour Sordello, from Mantua, who, after exchanging greetings with his countryman Vergil, tells them no ascent can be made during the night, and offers to lead them to a place of safety. In a grassy valley covered with flowers of every hue, and redolent with a thousand odors, they see the spirits of many famous princes, kings, and emperors, gathered from all parts of the world; the Emperor Rudolph of Austria is there, Philip of France and Peter of Aragon, and, sitting alone, the "king of simple life," Henry III of England. The scene which follows —the melancholy of the twilight hour, and the downward rush of the angels who come to guard the valley against the snares of the serpent—is one of exquisite softness and beauty.

It was now the hour when the sailor's heart turns longingly homeward and grows soft within him, on the day when he has said farewell to his sweet friends, and when the new pilgrim is pierced with love if he hears in the distance a bell which seems to mourn for the dying day, when I began to cease from listening and to look at one of the spirits who had risen and who was asking for silence with his hand. He joined and raised both his palms and fixed his eyes toward the east, as if he were saying to God, "For naught else do I care." "Te Lucis Ante" came so devoutly from his lips that I was rapt in ecstasy. And then all the other spirits reverently followed him through the entire hymn, having their eyes turned to the celestial spheres. I saw that gentle band silently gazing on high as if in expectation, pallid and humble. And then I saw come

out of the heavens two angels who flew toward us with flaming swords. Their garments were green, with the tender green of little leaves but lately born, and their pinions trailed behind. "Both come from the lap of Maria," said Sordello, "to guard this valley from the serpent who will not delay to come." At which I, who knew not by what path, turned around and clung close to my master's faithful side. And then Sordello said, "Let us now go down into the valley among these mighty spirits and speak with them; grateful will it be to them to see you."

That night Dante dreamed that, like Ganymede in the Grecian fable, he was caught up to the highest heavens, and on awakening found that the sun was two hours high and that he was before the gate of purgatory. The angel who guards the entrance drew seven times with his sword the letter "P" on the forehead of Dante, representing the seven capital sins, and these letters are one by one effaced as he ascends the mountain.

In the "Purgatory" there are not so many dramatic events or picturesque details to chronicle as in the "Inferno." From terrace to terrace the poets mount, passing the souls of the proud crushed beneath fearful weights; of the misers bound hands and feet, and singing "My soul lieth in the dust;" of the angry, the gluttonous, the slothful, and the licentious—all horribly tormented, yet bearing their sufferings with patience, and looking forward to the day of their redemption, when the mountain shall tremble with joy and, amid shouts of "Gloria in excelsis Deo," they shall rise to the presence of God. Three days and nights are passed in this upward journey, and on the morning of the fourth day the poets reach the earthly paradise.

The last six cantos of "Purgatory" are a succession of beautiful, mystic, and sublime scenes. The poet's imagination, with an unfaltering upward flight, rises from height to height of poetic grandeur. No words can describe that forest thick with trees, the murmur of whose leaves reminds the poet of the great pine forest near Ravenna; or that gentle lady who went singing along the side of a crystal stream, gathering the purple and golden flowers with which her path was covered; or, still less, that august procession in which the Church of Christ is figured. But here sorrow is mingled with joy in Dante's heart. Vergil, his faithful friend and guide, having mitered and crowned him lord of himself, leaves him; and Beatrice, amid songs of "Benedictus qui venis" and "Manibus o date lilia plenis," descending from heaven in a cloud of flowers strewn by angelic hands, adds

tears of remorse to his tears of sorrow as she rebukes him for his past waywardness. And then, while "the ice about his heart is melted as the snow on mountain heights," and he makes confession of his sins, he is plunged in the streams of Lethe and Ennoë, and made "pure and disposed to ascend to the stars."

The ascent of paradise is a flight rather than a journey. The rapidity increases, and the poet is only aware of the passage from the moon to Mercury, from Venus to the sun, from Jupiter to Saturn, by the increased brilliancy shining in the face of Beatrice, who is now his guide. In the different heavens he sees the spirits of great warriors, philosophers, and theologians, and, conversing with them, clears his mind of many doubts over which he had long brooded. The poet's imagination rises to superhuman heights in his grand vision of the empyrean. He sees a vast river of light whose shores are clothed with flowers of unutterable beauty. From the river, in form of living sparks, issue the angels of God, who alight on the flowers of the shore and then returning sink in the liquid light. As Dante gazes the flowers take the form of a celestial rose, on whose petals are seated the spirits of the blessed of all ages and nations. Highest of all sits the blessed Virgin, to whom Dante, through Saint Bernard, addresses that prayer which has been called the sweetest, loftiest, and most inspired religious lyric ever uttered by the lips of man. In answer to this prayer the poet is granted a vision of the glory of God; and, dazzled by the splendor of this sight, his lofty imagination staggers, sinks, and falls, and the poem comes to an end.

As we have already seen, history plays a very important part in the "Divine Comedy." It is the warp on which are woven the threads that form the fabric of the poem. What a pageant is that which unrolls itself in these pages! Jostling strangely together we see men of all ages and races; the gods and demigods of ancient mythology; heroes of Troy and Thebes and Rome; kings and princes of modern Europe, popes and cardinals, lords and ladies; men illustrious and men obscure —all mentioned with words of praise or blame, and each assigned his place in hell, or purgatory, or paradise.

Dante is an unbending theorist, and judges all history in the light of the twofold rule of the pope in the government of the world. His theory of the independence of the temporal and

spiritual power of Rome, which he elaborates at length in the "De Monarchia," is here logically adhered to. God from the beginning has ordained Rome to be the seat of a double power. Here dwells the emperor of the world, who shall govern the nations in temporal matters and lead them to earthly happiness, and the pope, who shall be their spiritual ruler and lead them to the happiness of the world to come. Owing, however, to the union of the sword and the pastoral staff in the hands of the pope, God's plans for the happiness of the race have been thwarted. Naught is left of the old glory of the empire; the innocence and faith of ancient days have become as a dream that is ended. The garden of Italy is a wilderness; Rome sits alone as a widow among the nations. Pride, envy, and avarice are the sparks that set all hearts on fire. Dante's heart swells with scorn as he sees these things. All the bitterness of his disillusionment and exile is found in the terrible denunciations with which the "Divine Comedy" is filled. Italy is a *terra prava;* her cities are full of tyrants. Scarcely one escapes the lash of his verse; Padua is full of usurers; Pisa is the vituperation of the nations; Bologna is the home of ruffians and misers. But, above all, Dante pours out the vials of his wrath upon Florence, "la bellissima figlia di Roma," the city dear to his heart, which has exiled him and denied him as her son. She was founded by demons; she is full of envy, and is the nest of malice. Out of seventy-nine contemporaries whom he places in hell forty-three are Tuscans and thirty-two are Florentines.

Where history and theory harmonize Dante's assignment of rewards and punishments is just; but his knowledge of history is often inaccurate. We cannot object to his placing Cleopatra and Semiramis in the circle of the licentious, or Copeneus among those who curse God, or Caiaphas and Annas among the hypocrites; and we must share Dante's views upon the right of the Roman power to approve the assignment of Cassius and Brutus to the same punishment as Judas. When we come to contemporaries, however, things are different. The poor hermit who was dragged unwillingly from his humble cell and became Pope Celestino V, and who afterward made the "great refusal," is treated with the most withering contempt; and for no other reason, apparently, than that his abdication of the papal throne

made way for Boniface VIII, who was Dante's bitterest enemy and accomplished his exile from Florence. So, too, his savage hate burst forth against Filippo Argenti in the Stygian marsh, and caused that dastardly deed against Frate Alberigo, in Cocytus, which forms such a blot on his memory. But who can blame Dante? What life was ever so full of injustice as his? What exile more terrible? Is it any wonder that he judges his contemporaries through the prejudices of his own heart; that sometimes tears of rage and sorrow distort his views of life; that everywhere he sees corruption sitting in high places; that to him patriotism is dead and piety but a name?

One thing must strike us in Dante's treatment of history, and that is his impartiality. Politics and party save no man; with him there is neither white nor black, Guelph nor Ghibelline. In hell we see side by side men of all parties—Farinata and Ezzelino, Pier delle Vigne and Malatesta, Ugolino and Ruggieri. Dante's hand is lifted against all who sin against the peace of the fatherland. He himself after his exile had left his evil companions and formed a "party by himself." A Guelph by tradition and family ties, a Ghibelline by force of circumstances, he clings to neither party, but devotes himself with passionate energy to the ideal of a united Italy.

History and religion are also inseparably joined in the "Divine Comedy." We cannot discuss the one without the other. There is no reason to doubt Dante's sincere and profound faith. He is no heretic, but is a Catholic to the core. He accepts the deepest mysteries of the Church without question; his definitions of faith to St. Peter, of hope to St. James, and of love to St. John are thoroughly orthodox. Yet even Martin Luther himself is not more fierce against the corruption of the papal court than he. Though he believes the papacy was ordained by God, still the actual occupants of the pope's chair are the objects of his fiercest denunciations. He lashes and scourges their simony, their avarice, and their nameless vices; they are rapacious wolves whose sole desire is for this world's goods. "How much treasure did Christ demand of Peter when he placed the keys in his possession? Surely he asked for naught but 'Come after me.'" "'Twas you, O bishops of Rome, that the evangelist had in mind when she who sits upon the waters was seen in dalliance with kings." The clergy no longer study the

decretals; the Gospel is no longer preached; the footsteps of St. Francis are not followed; and the flock of St. Dominic have become gluttons. This bitter feeling of Dante against the Church results from the same cause as his enmity to the politics of the times. Throughout the whole poem it is the exile that we see. Dante himself, as he goes through hell and purgatory, and on to paradise, does not become more gentle. The theologian and penitent is always held in the background by the exile and patriot, ever aspiring to a political and religious ideal. Though Dante believes in the dogmas of the Church, he goes far beyond his fellow-men in his desire for the reform of the world, which must be based on the reform of the Church. This latter must be founded on a return to the principles of the gospels, the abandonment of earthly ambitions, and the purification of the clergy. Dante in the "Divine Comedy" calls upon God to avenge the corruption of the Church on its degenerate pastors; and in this way he fulfills the mission given him from on high to fight against the prince of darkness, to lead the Church to the garden of Christ, to separate the sword of Cæsar from the pastoral staff of St. Peter, and to hasten the triumphant reign of peace on earth and good will to men.

Dante's treatment of nature is worthy of our attention. Of course the modern conception of nature was not his; the times were too hard and stern for that. But who can doubt that, during those long years of exile when he traversed Italy from one end to the other, he studied minutely all the phases of nature? And may he not have found comfort in the restfulness of the great pine forest of Chiasso or the peaceful valley of the Casentino? No country in the world could have shown him lovelier landscapes; and none but a lover of nature could have seen Italy as he saw it, and as he makes us see it—the roar of the cataract of Montone, the tranquil beauty of the Lago di Garda fed by a thousand fountains, or the little streams that descend from the green hills of the Casentino to the Arno. What astonishes us is the minuteness of his observations and his power of reproducing natural phenomena in the simplest and yet most effective way. The homeliness of his figures drawn from animal life—the timid lambs as they leave the fold, the frogs half submerged in the pools of water—does not obscure their extreme beauty. To see and express this beauty of

Nature in her humblest details is the highest triumph of the poet's art. The variety of light effects in the "Divine Comedy" is also very striking. Dante has caught the rosy flush of morn, the sunshine falling through a cloud upon a bank of flowers, the halo that wreathes the pallid moon, and the pellucid trembling of the morning star. It is certain that before Dante no poet had ever shown such minute observation of nature. The smallest details do not escape him. As we read his poem there rises before us the storm with its thunder and lightning and downpouring rain; winter with its snow, and spring with its flowers; sunrise and sunset; the cool morning and the melancholy hour of twilight, when the heart is filled with longings at the sound of the vesper bells.

It is in his art, more than in anything else, that Dante is great. The three requisites of the supreme poet—creative imagination, vigorous intellect, and sound moral purpose—he possesses in the highest degree. It is dangerous, we know, to use superlatives; but it is not too much to say that no poet ever lived who has produced such wonderful pictures as are burnt in on the memory of the man who reads the "Divine Comedy" with "the spirit" and with "the understanding also." Take the picture of that land of terror and gloom, with its hail and snow and roaring winds, with its grim and savage landscapes, its forests of gnarled trees, its burning plains and valleys of desolation, the whole overhung with clouds of inky blackness, rent and made lurid by jets of red light, as by flickering tongues of flame; or that other picture, as beautiful as this is terrible, with its soft landscapes lying in peaceful loveliness beneath tender skies, with its verdurous valleys and delightful groves, musical with the sweet singing of birds; or still again that third vision, so dazzling that it hardly leaves a picture in the memory, but the effect of which is like that of heavenly melody or the impression that comes upon a man standing at midnight on the snowy summit of some alpine mountain, with face upturned to the eternal stars shining above him like lights of the New Jerusalem. In these pictures, as in the countless details which go to make them up, can be seen the power of Dante's imagination. We cannot linger except to cast a fleeting glance at the old tailor threading his needle, or at lazy Belacqua embracing his knees and wearily resting

his head upon them; and to mention those apt metaphors taken from burning paper, or from light entering water, or to note the comparison of the vague appearance of the spirits in the moon to a pearl shining on a white forehead. Dante's vigorous intellect also manifests itself in the symmetry of the poem, in the way he has made it an epitome of the science, history, philosophy, and theology of his times. Its moral tone is, besides, of the highest. His ideals are noble and pure, nothing less than the reform of the world. No other book leaves the reader so impressed with the reality of the spiritual realm, or so strong to fight against the false and mean in life.

Indeed, what merit of the poet does Dante not possess? As Ruskin uses Turner to exemplify the best qualities of painting, so one could write a long disquisition on poetry with the "Divine Comedy" as a book of illustrations. Dante's preeminence as one of the three greatest of the world's poets is now assured. And we may find in him peace and consolation in hours of sorrow. Longfellow, in a series of sonnets that are among his best, has compared the "Divine Comedy" to a vast cathedral, with dim aisles and perfumed air, whose unseen choirs

> Sing the old Latin hymns of peace and love
> And benedictions of the Holy Ghost.

Into this great cathedral the laborer, "pausing in the dust and heat," comes to kneel and repeat his paternosters:

> So, as I enter here from day to day,
> And leave my burden at this minster gate,
> Kneeling in prayer, and not ashamed to pray,
> The tumult of the time disconsolate
> To inarticulate murmurs dies away,
> While the eternal ages watch and wait.

L. Oscar Kuhns.

Art. VII.—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

No matter now engaging the attention of the Methodist Episcopal Church nearly equals in importance the question of her constitution. There are at present more adults in her membership than there were in all the colonies when the independence of the United States was acknowledged. The interests of the Church are varied; its properties are vast; territorially it girdles the globe, and the attrition of its ideas is frequent and sometimes sharp. That the condition of the body should be such as to warrant the language of the bishops with reference to the framework of its government in their address to the General Conference of 1888 is scarcely less than startling. They said: "Another question has arisen which is of paramount importance. It has reference to what constitutes the organic law of the General Conference. Have we any such thing as a constitution? If so, what paragraphs of the Discipline are included in it?" Well might they add, "It is scarcely possible to think of this as an open question;" but they asserted, "Yet it does exist."

The subject being thus forcibly brought to the attention of the General Conference, there resulted the appointment of a constitutional commission, consisting of three bishops, seven ministers, and seven laymen. The instructions given them were to prepare paragraphs to take the place of ¶¶ 63, 64, in the chapter on the General Conference; and, seeing the organic law of the Church, and especially the constitution of the General Conference, needed to be accurately defined and determined, they were to carefully consider and report thereon; also, the method to be pursued in the organization of the General Conference should be precisely and explicitly stated. They were instructed to state of whom the General Conference shall be composed, "to declare what shall be the powers thereof and in what manner they shall be exercised, and to provide the process by which the constitution or any part thereof shall be amended, and report to the General Conference of 1892."

Unfortunately, under the last clause of these instructions the commission considered itself precluded from allowing the

Church to have access to their report until it was first laid before the General Conference. To study a subject so intricate and important as this there is needed time, and care, and quiet research, where choice libraries are accessible. To attempt such a thing amid the rush of General Conference business is sheer folly; hence it was wise indeed in the Conference of 1892 to decline, under the circumstances, to determine the momentous questions involved.

The report of the commission to the General Conference of 1892, after what may be styled its preamble, was in four parts. The first was "As to the definition of 'The Constitution of the General Conference,'" meaning thereby what is now in the Discipline and should be regarded as the constitution of the General Conference. The second part designated the things now in the Discipline which they wished to have determined to be "The Organic Law of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The third part of their report suggested an orderly collation and rearrangement of the matter now in the Discipline and which they had designated as included in Parts I and II. The fourth part proposed new paragraphs for the Discipline, entitled, "Constitution and Powers of the General Conference," and recommended that its adoption be submitted to the restrictive rule process.

The Conference ordered that the report should be considered part by part, and taking up the first part spent three days in its discussion. At the end of that time the Conference had adopted a substitute for the entire part under consideration, and as they were planning for a time when the report should be further discussed, suddenly a motion was sprung to indefinitely postpone the whole matter, print it in the Church papers, and refer it to the next General Conference. This motion was adopted, and the General Conference had relieved itself of an incubus. The substitute by Dr. Goucher, which had been accepted and adopted instead of the first part as presented by the committee, of course went over with the remainder of the report under the indefinite postponement *of the whole matter.* With all respect for the honored author of the substitute, it is now seen clearly that it is well that it was not finally adopted. This summary disposition of so great a report was scarcely short of a *fiasco;* nevertheless, the action had the great advan-

tage of saving the Church from precipitate action on fundamental matters and gave her a quadrennium for the discussion of the subject and for the maturing of a better result than was then possible.

This famous report had many excellences that undoubtedly will be of great service in the formulating of the document which will finally, and we hope soon, be adopted. So great is our respect for the distinguished men of that commission that it is with utmost hesitation we criticise adversely their report. But we are compelled to submit that every one of the four parts is, in our opinion, seriously at fault, either by embracing too much or too little.

The first part had unsupported historical statements, an ambiguous definition of a constitution, and, above all, a contradictory statement of what is now the constitution of the General Conference.

The second part, "As to the Organic Law of the Methodist Episcopal Church," is so brief that it can be given in full. It reads, "The organic law of the Methodist Episcopal Church includes and is limited to the Articles of Religion, the General Rules of the United Societies, and that which we have already defined as the constitution of the General Conference." Is not this seriously defective in that it does not define the fundamental framework of the polity of the Church, nor mention the name of the organization, its terms of membership, or its officers? Neither is the doctrinal basis there given true to Methodist history, relating to "our present existing and established standards of doctrine."

The proposed new constitution of the General Conference, notwithstanding some new provisions of great value, altogether fails to provide the necessary readjustment of our confessedly defective plan for lay delegation. The Quarterly Conference, instead of the entire adult membership, would continue to elect the members of the Lay Electoral Conference; the Lay Conference would still be compelled to meet at the seat of the Ministerial Conference, and at the same time; the inequality, in number of representatives, between ministers and laymen would continue; division into two houses, even though it should be obviously desirable, would be impossible; and the inherent rights of the respective orders would continue in a promiscuous jumble.

Its provision that no change shall be made in the Discipline without the concurrent vote of the ministers and laymen is good; but its provision for a separate vote "on any other question" should add that to adopt a measure on a separate vote there should be the same proportionate vote in each order as would have been necessary to its adoption in the undivided house. Humiliating experience has shown the Church the imperative need of efficient safeguards against hasty legislation. That this single provision in that direction will be adequate to meet the demands of the case is more than doubted. Furthermore, this proposed constitution of the General Conference does not, in the light of current discussions, sufficiently define the qualifications of its members. But, in addition to its defects, it proposes to add some dangerous provisions. It says: "The General Conference shall possess supreme legislative, executive, and judicial powers for the government of the Church, subject to the provisions of this constitution and under the following limitations and restrictions." Then follow the restrictive rules. But, under this provision, what body shall judicially interpret "the provisions of this constitution," or whether a proposed measure is in violation of the restrictive rules? The General Conference only. This would practically prevent the possibility of stability in any part of the constitution, seeing the General Conference could by a simple majority vote make perforce constitutional the most unconstitutional decisions, seeing its last judicial decision would of necessity be the law of the Church. "The king can do no wrong." It can never be other than dangerous to allow any body of men to pass judicially on their own legislative acts. Where the legislature is a delegated body, acting under the provisions of a written constitution, beyond doubt the judicial function should not be placed in its hands. The disciplinary language granting to the General Conference "full power to make rules and regulations for our Church" has, especially since 1844, been construed to mean practical ecclesiastical omnipotence; and we have seen, in not a few instances, its deplorable results. As a matter of fact, there has not been from the beginning anything in the Discipline to prevent the organization of a court with jurisdiction over the acts of the General Conference. But the proposed constitution would explicitly

write into our fundamental law an express prohibition of any such court, and perpetuate a dangerous concentration of authority. Rather, when we get a definite constitution, let it so expand our judicial system as to provide a court competent to protect the Church from the dangers threatened by cyclones certain in a large legislative body. For these and other reasons, notwithstanding the valuable traits already admitted, it is not necessary to be altogether disconsolate over the practical demise of the commission's report.

This review of recent history emphasizes the questions raised in the episcopal address of 1888; and, because they have not been widely studied among us, there is a lamentable lack of intelligence concerning them. It is confusing to confound the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church with the constitution of the General Conference of that Church. The two can never, by clear thinking, be considered as identical. Indeed, there should never be a separate constitution of the General Conference any more than there is a separate constitution of the United States Congress. The organic law of the Church should provide for the General Conference and specify its organization and powers, even as it would provide for annual, judicial, and other Conferences and Church organizations.

But what of the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church? Did we ever have one? Some say our fathers were so absorbed in soul-winning that they never gave thought to such things as constitutions. They err who so affirm. It is well known that when, at the close of our Revolutionary War, Mr. Wesley was preparing the habiliments for "the few sheep in the wilderness," over whom he had exercised the office of shepherd, but whom he now desired should be constituted an independent Church, he took the Liturgy of the Church of England and revised it, calling that revision *The Sunday Service*. He also took the Thirty-nine Articles of that Church and, by free excisions, carefully eliminated obnoxious or questionable doctrines, reducing their matter fully two thirds and their number to twenty-four. This *Sunday Service*, the Articles of Religion, and the *Psalms and Hymns* for the new Church were printed in London in 1784, and were brought over in sheets by Dr. Coke, when he came with letters of authority to organize the new Methodism in the new nation west of the Atlantic.

The preachers were called together in convention at Baltimore. Sixty-one, out of the total of eighty-three, attended. As Mr. Wesley's representative Dr. Coke took the chair, and read the terse and comprehensive letter of Wesley, in which he stated the grounds of his action and of his advice to the American preachers. Sherman, in his *History of the Discipline*, well says of this gathering: *

> It was a convention assembled for the purpose of organizing the Church and establishing a constitution for the government of the body, without any expectation of its recurrence. The Discipline provided in 1784 was designed to serve as a constitution, to be supplemented by such statutory provisions from time to time as the Conferences might find necessary.

This body of preachers accepted Mr. Wesley's *Sunday Service*, the Articles of Religion, and the *Psalms and Hymns*. They also accepted his advice as to organizing an Episcopal Church. But, although Coke and Asbury had both been appointed superintendents by him, the fledgling Church led by Asbury would not accept them as such until elected to the office by their own convention. They then took the Large Minutes—the Discipline of the English Methodists—and, omitting or adding at will, made such changes as would in their opinion adapt them to the work in this country. The results of this careful labor were at once published and bound up with the sheets already mentioned as having been printed in London and brought over by Mr. Coke.†

In this book, the first edition of the Discipline, we find on page 3 the following questions and answers:

> Q. 3.—As the ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs of these United States have passed through a very considerable change by the Revolution, what plan of Church government shall we hereafter pursue?
>
> A.—We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church under the direction of superintendents, elders, deacons, and helpers, according to the forms of ordination annexed to our liturgy, and the form of discipline set forth in these Minutes.

* Third edition, p. 27.

† As we prepare this paper we have before us a copy of this foundation publication of our Church. It has a separate title-page for each division. The one for this part of the volume is as follows: *Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., the Rev. Francis Asbury, and Others, at a Conference begun in Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday, the 27th of December, in the year 1784. Composing a Form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers, and other Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist in Arch Street, the Corner of Fourth Street. M,DCC,LXXXV.*

The second edition of the Discipline was printed in London in 1786, in connection with *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America.* The separate heading of the Discipline occupies but a small space at the head of the page on which the "Minutes" begin. It is of considerable significance in this discussion, seeing it runs as follows: "The General Minutes of the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, forming the Constitution of the said Church." Question 3 and answer, as they appeared in the first edition, remain unchanged.

The third edition, that for 1787,* was printed by W. Ross, in Broad Street, New York, and is greatly changed. The title-page assures us that the "Form of Discipline" has been "arranged under proper heads, and methodized in a more acceptable and easy manner." It is in thirty-one sections, and in the sections retains the question-and-answer form, the questions of each section being numbered separately. As to this "methodizing," by reference to Asbury's *Journal* (November, 1785) it appears that Asbury, and probably John Dickins, arranged "the subject matter thereof under their proper heads, divisions, and sections." In order to confer with Coke, and more especially to get the consent of the District Conferences, seeing there were many and important changes, this new arrangement did not appear till 1787. As bearing on the present matter, Section III, "On the Nature and Constitution of our Church," is the most important. In the editions of 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791 this section remained unchanged, and was as follows:

> We are thoroughly convinced that the Church of England, to which we have been united, is deficient in several of the most important parts of Christian discipline; and that (a few ministers and members excepted) it has lost the life and power of religion. We are not ignorant of the spirit and designs it has ever discovered in Europe, of rising to preeminence and worldly dignities by virtue of a national establishment, and by the most servile devotion to the will of temporal governors; and we fear the same spirit will lead the same Church in these United States (though altered in its name) to similar designs and attempts, if the number and strength of its members will ever afford a probability of success; and, particularly, to obtain a national establishment, which we cordially abhor as the great bane of truth and holiness, and a great impediment to the progress of vital Christianity.

*An original copy of which is before us as we write.

For these reasons we have thought it our duty to form ourselves into an independent Church. And as the most excellent mode of Church government, according to our maturest judgment, is that of *a moderate Episcopacy;* and as we are persuaded *that the uninterrupted succession of Bishops from the Apostles* can be proven neither from Scripture nor antiquity; we therefore have constituted ourselves into an *Episcopal Church*, under the direction of *Bishops*, *Elders*, *Deacons*, and *Preachers*, according to the forms of ordination annexed to our prayer book, and the regulations laid down in this form of discipline.

Evidently the men who organized the Church did think of such a thing as a constitution. The title to the second edition of the Discipline, and the celebrated third section in the next five editions, show that they did. Whatever we may think of the completeness or deficiency of their organizing work—whether it was wise or unwise for them to include the entire Discipline in the constitution, and not to have named therein the doctrinal basis of the denomination, or even the spiritual and practical basis as found in the General Rules—still, on a few points they were unmistakably clear. First, the organization was to be an independent Church; secondly, that Church was to be episcopal in government, and under the direction of the ministry; thirdly, the episcopacy of that Church was to be "a moderate episcopacy," "elective," and "amenable to the body of the ministry and preachers;" and, fourth, the plan of the episcopacy of that Church was to be connectional as against the diocesan, which they so well knew in England and in Rome. In their own language, the incumbents of the episcopal office were to be bishops of "the Methodist Connection in America." It is significant that these very items were a quarter of a century later embedded in the third restrictive rule. Beyond the foregoing the practical work of the Church in spreading scriptural holiness occupied nearly all the thought of that organizing Conference. But as they were to meet yearly, they no doubt intended to remedy any defects that became apparent; and to a considerable extent they did.

Singularly enough, Section III, "On the Nature and Constitution of our Church," retained its place in the Discipline only until the meeting of the first General Conference, in 1792. Speaking of this Conference, Sherman says, "The sections on the Constitution and on the Origin of the Episcopacy were condensed into that on the Origin of the Methodist Episcopal

Church." * The new statement fell very far below the strength and explicitness of the sections which it supplanted; indeed, it was exceeding tame and a sorry apology for independent existence. But, lame as it was, this "condensation" remained unchanged for an even century. In 1892, the General Conference being dissatisfied with the century-old statement, and not thinking it necessary to even inspect the form of words that should take its place, instructed its committee on the revision of discipline to rewrite and improve this chapter of origins. It was ably and even beautifully done—but shades of the 1784 fathers! What liberties to take with their Declaration of Independence and the king-bolt of their "constitution!"

This was not the only section that, being of constitutional force and effect, was diluted, diffused, and practically destroyed. The General Conferences of 1796, 1800, and 1804 left us no reminder that they took any thought of constitutional matters. Whatever we may think of the wisdom of some of the changes made in those days, they were all legal. The itinerant minister had practically created the Church. They had not waited to be called, but they "went everywhere preaching the word," and the Lord daily added "those that were being saved." Consequently, this ministry organized or constituted the Church and her institutions, made and unmade doctrine, terms of membership, and what not. Later, this same body of men developed her Book Concern, her colleges and schools, and led the growing Church to the great place which she held and still holds among the communions of Christendom. The courage, aggressiveness, and spiritual force of this body of ministers has never been surpassed since the apostolic days. Hence, as the Church was episcopal, with a big "E" in italics, it was directed, with a big "D," by the preachers. Until 1800 every traveling preacher, whether ordained or not, had a seat in that body which made and unmade constitutions at will. In 1800 the order was taken that thereafter only those who had traveled four years should be eligible to seats in the Conference, and in 1804 it was again changed so as to limit membership to those who were in full membership and had traveled four years after being admitted to the Annual Conference. In 1808 the last of these mass-meeting General

* *History of the Discipline*, p. 30.

Conferences was held. Again the larger body consented to be reduced, and said that thereafter the General Conference should be a delegated body, consisting of one in five of the members of the Annual Conference. However, before letting go of any of their authority they chose to fix "perpetually" the time of meeting (and the same word was probably intended to qualify all the other provisions), the membership, the quorum, and the presidency of the General Conference, and also to restrain the future Conferences in six particulars.

Outside of these provisions and restrictions they clothed this new governing body with unlimited authority "to make rules and regulations for our Church." Change in the reserve items could only be made by the Annual Conferences. Over them they retained absolute authority, seeing only they could initiate action to change; and even then it should be favored by all, or it could not pass. In 1832 the Annual Conferences released their grip, and the General Conference was permitted to share the right to initiate changes; and, instead of all the Annual Conferences, only three fourths of the aggregate membership present and voting were necessary to initiate or complete the suspension or change of a restrictive rule. This important change made the individual member of the Conference the voting unit, not the Conference, as it had been up to that time. That made the Annual Conference sessions, so far as constitutional questions are concerned, mere polling places, with no power to deprive any member of the Conference of the right to record his vote on any proposed change of a restrictive rule that may have been recommended by a two-thirds vote of the General Conference. In 1872 the most remarkable surrender of power was made by the Annual Conferences, when lay delegates were introduced into the General Conference; and by the separate vote arrangement they were given practically equal power with that of the ministry. Moreover, this was done indiscriminately, that is, in reference to all matters doctrinal and spiritual, to ministerial character, and everything that might come before the General Conference. Thus, little by little, for a hundred years the accent that at first was so strong on the "episcopal" in our name has been toned down, till it would seem as if long before another century it might be necessary to change our name to the "Methodist Congregational Church," though there,

alas! "the nobles," with no touch of the heartaches and sacrifices of a Methodist preacher, might exercise a tyranny such as could hardly be possible even at the hands of a "King George" style of bishop or presiding elder. The trend of the century has been toward denuding the Annual Conferences of their power, and toward centralizing everything in the General Conference.

The new constitution ought to change both aspects of the case. First, it should greatly increase the responsibilities of the Annual Conferences; and, secondly, it should relieve the General Conference of those things which experience has shown to disturb its legislative poise. There is no more striking illustration of the tendency to General Conference centralization than is seen in the contention that the General Conference can change at its pleasure its own constitution. It is against reason that a delegated body should have such power over the constituting provisions that have been given it by its maker. This is still more true when the maker provides that those provisions shall operate "perpetually." It is evident that no grant of authority "to make rules and regulations for our Church", can authorize a General Conference to change the law of its own existence, or even to vote at all on such a charge unless specific authority to do so has been given.

Seeing there is no specified method for changing the paragraphs constituting the General Conference, save only that part embraced in the restrictive rules, and seeing that it is of the nature of revolution for the General Conference to assume power over these vital provisions, how then can they be changed? Some say by the restrictive rule process. While this is a safe conservatism there is absolutely no authority for the action. The neat way by which the Annual Conferences have been led to set a precedent along this line, by the current vote on the change of the day of General Conference meeting, should mislead nobody, and it is hoped it may never be repeated. How then can these paragraphs be changed? The right to change them inheres in the sovereign body of ministers who first gave them, and by the same vote that adopted them in 1808, namely, a majority vote. In the absence of any specific mode of amending, and until a way is prescribed, we submit this is the safe way. While the General

Conference may call attention to what it considers desirable changes, no vote of that body should be effective in making the change. Is it not of the highest importance that such vital matters be authoritatively settled by the adoption of a new constitution?

For the peace and safety of the whole Church the new constitution should recognize, restore, and protect the New Testament responsibilities of the eldership in the government of the Church. Correspondingly, those of the laity should be recognized and protected. In order to do this it should secure to the laity veritable lay representation in the General Conference, and that either in equal numbers with the ministry or in a separate house. This would, no doubt, involve a direct vote of the laity in the election of the members of the Lay Electoral Conference, and the right in the General Conference to initiate all legislation relating to the purely business and financial affairs of the Church; while to the eldership—the pastorate—would be reserved the initiative on all matters relating to doctrines, discipline, and the spiritual life.

Closely related to this is another problem. The new constitution should provide a way to keep the General Conference numerically within the true limits of a legislative body, probably not to exceed three hundred and fifty. If the rate of increase that has prevailed for the last fifty years, or even the last twenty, should continue for fifty more, we would have over three hundred Conferences, with a membership of over fifty thousand. Give the foreign Conferences national autonomy, and, on the ratio of increase that has prevailed at home, there would still be over two hundred and fifty Conferences and forty thousand preachers. This is a conservative estimate. Radical changes as to representation must presently be faced. Will the solution be found in making the number of members, ministerial and lay respectively, the basis of representation, instead of the present regard for Annual Conference bounds?

Surely it is time we had a well-defined constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with clearly expressed provisions as to the powers and limitations of the General, Annual, and other Conferences and organizations of the Church, and especially a judiciary system reaching to a court that will be competent to pass judicially on the challenged acts of the General

Conference itself. Should not that instrument contain a framework somewhat like the following?

I. The original declaration of purpose that the form of government of the Church shall be episcopal, and its name "The Methodist Episcopal Church."

II. Doctrinal Basis: The Bible as the word of God, interpreted in substance by the doctrinal statements of Wesley's Notes on the New Testament, and the historical four volumes of Wesley's Sermons (being the first 53 of Vol. i, Book Concern edition), together with the twenty-five Articles of Religion and the catechisms of the Church.

III. Spiritual and Practical Basis: The General Rules of the Church.

IV. The Ecclesiastical Framework: 1, Ritual; 2, Membership; 3, Officers; 4, Judiciary; 5, The Conferences; 6, Other Organizations.

V. Amendments, stating explicitly how each part may be legally changed in a manner both safe and convenient.

As it is out of the question that a General Conference should prepare such an instrument, or even maturely consider it after it is prepared, would it not be the part of wisdom for the next General Conference to arrange for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention which shall meet as soon as practicable and prepare the much-needed document? And is not this all that any General Conference should attempt to do in this matter? There never was a day in our Church when clearer thinking and freer speaking were needed than to-day, or when a broader statesmanship was demanded. May God himself guide in the settlement of these important affairs!

Jas Pearson

Art. VIII.—MISREPRESENTATIONS OF MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES.

Missions and missionaries suffer more at the hands of unfeeling, prejudiced, and often ignorant critics than the Churches and the ministry at home. The open assailants of the latter are neither very numerous nor very influential, and their misrepresentations cannot travel very far nor last very long; for the evidence of their falsity is accessible to everybody. Every community has its churches, and these churches are placed, not on obscure streets, but on the leading thoroughfares, so that they may be most convenient to the largest number and attract the most attention. They are not like private clubs or secret lodges; but all their acts of worship, all their practices, all that they believe and teach, all their thoughts and purposes, are for everybody to see and know. He who wishes to investigate them can do so as freely and fully as his purpose requires, and nobody can avoid knowing a great deal about them. It is not possible, therefore, to poison the public mind against them. Their true character is sure to prevail against any misrepresentation, however great the cunning which devises it or the persistency which publishes it.

But the work of the Church in foreign lands is not thus protected. Those who assail it and assert its failure address themselves to men and women who have no opportunity to give it a personal inspection, who only know what they have heard about it, and do not always know how to meet direct statements put forth as the result of personal visitation and investigation. If men who have lived in India, or China, or Japan, or Africa for months declare deliberately that the reports of the missionaries need to be sifted; that there are no real converts; that those who are reported as native Christians feign Christianity because the missionaries give them employment; that though Christian in name they are still heathen at heart, it is inevitable that suspicions should be aroused and doubts suggested as to the success of foreign missions. These suspicions may be latent at least for a long time; the doubts may never be uttered, and yet they must have some effect in settling the attitude of individuals toward the great cause.

Suspicion develops into prejudice, which is difficult to deal with, and doubt is apt to lead to hostility. This makes the wider dissemination of missionary information of great importance.

The attacks upon missions and missionaries (and under this head we do not include friendly criticisms) assume various forms. Those which are most direct and explicit are not the most dangerous. It is those which are cautious in statement and suggest damaging conclusions—insidious attacks—which do the most mischief. The more sweeping and virulent the charges the less likely they are to convince or deceive. Their character is stampedupon their face. As an example of the more mischievous method, a daily newspaper of the highest reputation, referring to the massacre of Armenians in Turkey, intimated that while missionary work is a good thing in general it had only served in the Ottoman empire to deepen the dislike of the Turk for the Armenians, who were Christians before the missionaries arrived among them, and to accelerate their martyrdom. The inference meant to be drawn was: These people are already Christians, not of the highest type, perhaps, but Christians, nevertheless. They had learned how to live peaceably with their Moslem neighbors. Why send missionaries to accentuate the differences between Christ and Mohammed, and thus instigate bloodshed?

To charge that the missionaries are really at the bottom of the massacres is to go a step further, and this has been done by Mr. F. Hopkinson Smith, who in a Boston newspaper lands the Turk and belittles the missionary, and insists that the "root of the trouble is in the missionaries sent out from America and England. Instead of trying to help the people," continues the author-artist, "they teach them that they are ill-treated, and sow the seeds of discontent and rebellion. They have started all the difficulty, and when the blame is properly placed it will rest on their heads." By making the "Unspeakable Turk" seem a far better kind of man than he is, and putting the missionary in the worst light, Mr. Smith manages to create an impression as nearly opposite the truth as possible. His method is fairly shown by the sentence in which he pictures the Turks as "superb specimens of physique," looking with "infinite contempt" upon "these little wizened, dried-up

spectacled women," as he designates the missionaries. Ignorant as his article proves him to be of the missionaries and their actual work, it is not pure ignorance which inspires his attack, but ignorance mixed with malice. Christian missionaries are not contemptible people. Those who so describe them either do not know them or deliberately malign them. The missionaries in Turkey are noble men, quite the equal of their brethren of the Congregational ministry in the United States. President Washburn, of Robert College, Henry O. Dwight, Farnsworth and Gates, and Dr. Barton, now one of the secretaries of the American Board, are men of the highest character and of conspicuous ability. No man, Turk or Christian, can look down upon them. They are God's noblemen, and such are the brave spirits who are standing at their posts, facing all danger, while the savage, sensual Turk is putting defenseless Christians to the sword, applying the torch to Christian homes, plundering Christian property, and consigning Christian women to a fate worse than the sword or the stake. Mr. Smith first spoke of them as Methodist missionaries; when told that there were no Methodist missionaries in Turkey he is said to have corrected himself and declared that he meant to speak of them as Baptist missionaries! If he keeps on guessing he may get it right by and by. If Mr. Smith should display such ignorance in discussing art or literature, or any other subject, he would be thoroughly discredited.

Many will remember how contemptuously certain influential daily newspapers and some persons of prominence spoke of the results of missionary work in the Hawaiian Islands when the revolution occurred which overthrew Queen Liliuokalani and the question of annexation to the United States was under discussion. The missionaries and their sons were most severely arraigned. They were accused of magnifying the immoralities of the natives, which had become more open and shocking under the reign of kings and queens of evil practices, of being avaricious, and of caring less for the welfare of the natives than for their own success in amassing wealth, and of depriving the poor Hawaiians of the right to rule their own land. If this was a fair example of the results of foreign missions, the less of them the better; if such was the character of missionaries, those who supported them ought to have their eyes opened.

In these attacks no one was more reckless in statement and violent in denunciation than a member of the denomination to which the honor of Christianizing the Sandwich Islands belongs. Of course, the truth was on the side of the missions and the missionaries; but it could not be fully established at once. The charges must be sent to Honolulu; and it was a matter of time to gather up the facts, prepare an answer, and get it published in the United States. When the refutation came the Hawaiian question had ceased to interest the general public, and many who saw the charges and believed them never saw the articles which proved their falsity. They probably have a poorer opinion than they used to have of missionary work, and particularly of the men who conduct it; they will discount missionary reports in the future, and think of missionaries as the salaried representatives of rich societies, earning a good living in an easy way, sending home rose-colored accounts of their work, and using the poor heathen for their own selfish purposes.

What is the truth about the Hawaiians? Let one of the much-maligned "sons" of the early missionaries speak, himself an honored missionary—a man of high character and sound judgment, knowing thoroughly all the facts and careful to state them accurately—the Rev. Sereno E. Bishop. He says:

> Our fathers made this land what it has come to be. With Christ's help they lifted it out of sorcery and demon worship into Gospel light; out of slavery into political and social liberty; out of naked savagery into decency and civilization; out of scabby, squalid poverty into luxury and beauty, until it has earned the name of the "Paradise of the Pacific." We older sons and daughters have watched this progress since our infant years, when this lovely city of sweet lawns and palm avenues and rose gardens, of palatial homes and churches, was a dusty, arid stretch of dirty lanes and grass huts, filled with naked, lolling, brutish natives, none of whom could call aught his own against the cupidity of a chief. We remember well how our fathers, and some of us after them, held up Christ and taught the ignorant, and healed the sick, and battled against drunkenness and lechery and chiefish oppression, and filled the land with churches and schoolhouses.

All this was not accomplished without opposition. "A continual wave of calumny beat against our fathers, but never overcame them." These attacks came chiefly from "foreigners of loose morals." The civilization brought by the missionary was

never hurtful to them. "Before Christianity reached them the inflaming of their vices and the poisoning by foul disease attendant on foreign intercourse had reduced their numbers from 300,000 to 150,000. During the twenty years preceding their complete evangelization they dwindled to 100,000. In fifty years more they have become less than 40,000." In the last quarter of a century the efforts of the missionaries to extend the reform of morals have been neutralized to a large degree by the revival of idolatry and sorcery under the lead of King Kamehameha V, and of degrading heathen practices. Kalakaua was still worse, and the last queen followed in their footsteps. It was the newer generation which fell into the old heathen vices; not the generation which the early missionaries Christianized.

As to the "sons" of missionaries, Mr. Bishop was at the pains to obtain a complete record of them, and, needless to say, it is a good one. Of the fifty-four sons of missionary fathers resident in the islands not one "has ever been arrested for crime or fallen a slave to any form of vice." They are all engaged in honorable occupations, six of them being missionaries or ministers. Two are millionaires, another nearly so, and three others have a competency. All of these are most generous in their benevolent contributions. Mr. Bishop concludes: "I suppose that an equally excellent class of men could not be found on the globe, descended from any particular body of parents, unless they were the sons of missionaries in some other mission fields."

It is in attacks upon missionaries as a class that most injustice is done. Of course there are individual missionaries, here and there one, not many in proportion to the number in the field, who prove to be unfit and incompetent. The methods of selecting men and women for this high calling are not, in some instances, wise. Certain organizations, not under denominational control, appoint many on short notice, and it is not strange that some whose ignorance, lack of adaptation, and unfortunate personal peculiarities make them unfit to serve in the mission field should receive commissions. Strength of character, large natural ability, and a thorough training are quite as important as a sound creed and an approved religious experience; and all the older and best managed societies and boards are

careful to select only the best. It is manifestly unfair to judge the whole body of missionaries by one or two of the few who are below the proper grade. But such sweeping judgments have been made and will probably be made again. Some of the heathen visitors to the Parliament of Religions from India and China so presented their faiths as to convey the impression that the representatives of the Christian Church in those countries have not dealt honestly with them in their reports, and that these faiths are by no means so repugnant to the Western mind as our missionaries would have us believe. From such insufficient and unsafe premises there were not a few who drew the conclusion that our missionaries are a narrow-minded, bigoted, and ignorant class of men, who are wasting their time and the money of the societies in useless attempts to convert people who already have a religion suited to their nature and needs. It is a little difficult to estimate the effect which the Parliament of Religions had in depreciating the work and ability of missionaries before the uninformed and unreflecting public. The heathen religions were represented with great shrewdness and given a far more favorable character than they possess in the fields where the missionaries see them as they are, and the respectful attention commanded by their advocates was all they could have desired. The Buddhist delegates from Japan gave a glowing account, on their return, of their reception in the United States. They confessed that they went reluctantly, fearing that it was a shrewd attempt to entrap and convert them, but they soon found they were mistaken. The Parliament was called, they discovered, because the "Western nations have come to realize the folly of Christianity," and wished to learn what is the best religion. Buddhism demonstrated, they said, its superiority to Christianity, and there was no better place than the United States in which to propagate the religion of Buddha. They had made one convert in New York, a wealthy man, and as "his conversion may be said to mean more than the conversion of ten thousand ordinary men, so we may say truthfully that we made ten thousand converts at that meeting." If our missionaries were to count their converts by this kind of arithmetic our lists in foreign fields would be immensely enlarged, while the propagation of Buddhism in this country would undoubtedly prove as splendid a failure as

Mohammed Russell Webb's absurd mission for Islam. The representations made for the Eastern religions at the Chicago Parliament have probably convinced those most willing to be convinced of the futility of Christian missions and the narrowness and incompetency of Christian missionaries. These, of course, belong chiefly to the class who are outside of the Church, and have never studied the subject. There are such men in our navy, and among the bitterest attacks on missions and missionaries are some which naval officers have covertly made. A few months ago an officer of one of our cruisers charged the manager of a Christian hospital in China with inhumanity and selfishness, and spoke of the "canting, whining hypocrites engaged in so-called missionary work among the Chinese," declaring that some one ought to "tell the whole truth about the fraud" and "storm the beggars out." Here was a wholesale statement based apparently upon a single incident. Of course the charges were not true, and the explanation indicated that rank prejudice and some discomfort caused by duty in port in hot weather were at the bottom of the misrepresentation. The enemies of our missions and missionaries—among whom, it is simple truth to say, several Roman Catholic newspapers must be numbered—are quick to catch up and circulate such slanders and draw the most sweeping conclusions therefrom.

It is not the truth which we have to fear, but lying statements and unjustifiable judgments. The more the facts are known the more the great cause is strengthened. We do not want to conceal anything; we want everything to be as public as possible. It is not the rule of the societies to defend the missionary who abuses his trust or to make failures appear as successes. They mean to be absolutely honest. All their accounts are open to inspection, and the results of the work in every field they are more than willing to have tested. If there are missionaries who are hypocrites nobody is more concerned to know it than those who employ them; if the converts of any mission are converts only in name and not in fact, caring only for the "loaves and fishes," the societies are most anxious to have the fraud laid bare. They court the fullest and most searching investigation, and are ready to meet any charges which are made sufficiently definite to admit of reply. When a naval officer says a whole body of missionaries are "canting,

whining hypocrites," when another, higher in rank, says the missionaries in Turkey are at the bottom of the massacres there, they make statements which are palpably false and which persons of equal reputation and much larger information, not connected with missions, prove to be so. If anyone expresses the opinion that missionaries as a class are second or third rate men, who have done little except draw their salary, we point to Livingstone, Moffat, and Stewart, of Africa; Morrison, Williams, and Legge, of China; Henry Martyn, Reginald Heber, and Alexander Duff, of India, and to scores of names in missionary annals made illustrious not only by successful labors for the propagation of the Gospel, but by large and important contributions to the sum of human knowledge. They have made translations of the Bible or portions of the Bible into two hundred and sixty-nine languages and dialects; they have compiled grammars and dictionaries for scores of strange tongues; they have created alphabets for peoples who had no written language; they have written histories of many countries and brought ancient and unknown literatures to the light. Their contributions to philology have alone been of great and enduring value. Who can say that there have not been eminent scholars among them? The preface to *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii, says: "No class of men have earned a higher reputation as scholars or philanthropists than our missionaries. Their contributions to history, ethnology, philology, geography, and religious literature form their enduring monument."

The exploration of the southern half of Africa is largely due to missionaries. Krapf and Rebman, English missionaries, discovered Mount Kilimanjaro, and heard of an inland sea beyond. This led Speke and Grant to discover the Victoria Nyanza and Lake Tanganyika. The immortal Livingstone opened the way for Henry M. Stanley and inspired him to undertake his wonderful journeys. Stanley mapped out the course of the Congo, but missionaries have explored many of its long confluents. On the West Coast they have traced the Niger, the Ogove, and other streams, penetrated to the very heart of the continent, and described its physical features and its peoples. In East Africa they have traversed the entire region lying between the coast and the great lakes, and missionary reports

give the best accounts of the country, its peoples, and its productions. What is true of Africa is true of the islands of the South Seas, of New Guinea, New Britain, and of various countries of Asia and America, and it is hardly too much to say that "missionaries have rendered more real service to geography than all the geographical societies in the world." *

If missionaries were "frauds" and "hypocrites" we should not expect them to remain at their posts when their lives are threatened. We should expect those in China to rush to a place of safety when war begins and the government of the empire is somewhat relaxed, so that it cannot insure protection against mobs and lawless bands of plunderers. Did the missionaries in China and Korea ask to be recalled? Did they flee as hirelings, or did they stay wherever their services were needed, wherever they could carry on their work? Missions have repeatedly been broken up in certain provinces in China, mission property destroyed, native Christians slain, and in some instances the missionaries beaten and even killed. It is not a year since the dreadful massacre in West China of English missionaries. Our own West China mission has been broken up twice by violence. But in all cases the work is renewed. The old missionaries return or others are sent in their places. In Turkey, where Moslem hatred of Christians has burned fiercely and thousands upon thousands of Armenians have been put to death for no other crime than professing Christ, where churches have been turned into mosques or burned to the ground and entire villages blotted out, where native pastors have been ruthlessly butchered and women subjected to infamous treatment—in Turkey, where fiends incarnate have enacted the most horrible scenes in mission centers, our American missionaries have faced every danger without flinching. Brave hearts and true, not one has returned in fear. Is this the spirit which "frauds" and "hypocrites" and "mercenaries" could be reasonably expected to manifest? Braver, nobler, truer men never faced death under Alexander, or Napoleon, or Wellington, or Grant than those who have carried the Gospel into every land beneath the sun. The hireling "fleeth because he is a hireling, and careth not for the sheep;" but the true shepherd "layeth down his life for the sheep." How can one prove the

* *Princeton Review.*

sincerity of his faith more conclusively than by his willingness to give his life for it?

The genuineness of converts may be established by evidence as conclusive as that which refutes the cruel charges against the missionaries. Those natives who are Christians only for the temporal advantage they hope to gain by connection with the missionaries cannot be expected to endure severe persecution or make deliberate sacrifice of property or worldly position. The history of missions is the history of martyrdom almost everywhere. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. This has been true in Africa, in China, in India, in Turkey, in the islands of the sea—among all heathen and non-Christian peoples. Those first black Christians of Madagascar suffered torture and death as firmly under the reign of the bloody Queen Ranavalona as the early saints did under cruel Nero. For a period of twenty-five years, the missionaries having been driven out of the country, they endured the severest persecution, refusing to surrender their Bibles, persisting in holding meetings, and avowing their faith openly and without hesitation. Women who gave their houses to churchless members for Christian worship were speared while they knelt in prayer, some were beheaded, hundreds were sold into slavery, many were fugitives, but the great body of them were true to the religion of Jesus Christ. Similar scenes were frequently enacted in the islands of the South Seas, where the persecuting savages of to-day became the suffering Christians of to-morrow, counting not their lives dear unto them if only they might testify unto the truth. Even fierce cannibals, made gentle by the religion of Jesus, became successful missionaries to their degraded brethren. If it be said that these are ancient stories, we answer that there are modern instances. We point to the Armenian fathers, husbands, and sons who were offered the choice of Islam or death. That many of them accepted death the long roll of martyrs abundantly proves. How was it in North China during the late war? The hatred against the Christians in the neighborhood of Moukden became, says the Rev. John Ross, very fierce. Chapels were destroyed and one missionary, Mr. Wiley, was killed. In many places the native Christians were without the presence of a missionary. Soon as the war ended evangelists, sent on a tour of investi-

gation, reported that they "found the Christians in great fear everywhere because of the wild and incessant threats directed against them. They seemed face to face with death. Many of them, with tears running down their cheeks and with quivering voices, declared that they could not at any cost give up Christianity. 'Better to die with Christ than to live without him,'" was the language these messengers constantly heard. Only three men, recent converts, had gone back to the heathen faith.

Such are some of the results of the labors of missionaries. Good fruit cannot be produced by a bad tree. Like missionary, like converts. If the missionaries were "frauds" and "hypocrites" their converts would be of like character. There are, fortunately, honest-minded, intelligent, and unprejudiced visitors to mission fields, as well as the other kind, and they gladly acknowledge the good which missions are doing. Eminent statesmen, educators, merchants, and physicians are among them, whose hearty, enthusiastic words might be quoted at length if space did not fail. A distinguished German, Dr. Warburg, made a trip to Formosa in the interests of science a few years ago, and he said in Hamburg on his return:

> I have seen sixteen chapels and people in them worshiping God. I have also seen native preachers standing on platforms preaching the truths of Christianity. *I never saw anything like it before.* If people in Hamburg saw what I have seen they would contribute for foreign missions. If scientific skeptics had traveled with a missionary as I have, and witnessed what I have on this plain, they would assume a different attitude toward the heralds of the cross.

Last year the Hon. John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State of the United States, gave an account of what he saw in mission lands, particularly in India, China, and Japan, on his recent tour abroad, and he declares that the results of missionary work are wonderful. It is, he says, "the greatest movement for the integrity and well-being of the human race that has ever been known."

H. K. Carroll.

Art. IX.—THE LAW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AS TO AMUSEMENTS—A CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION.

FIRST PAPER.

Regardless of differences as to what is included in the organic law of the Methodist Episcopal Church, all agree that the Articles of Religion and the General Rules are a part of it. These the General Conference is powerless to "revoke" or "change." The former give us our legal creed; the latter, the general law of Christian practice. Curiously, unless the intensely practical character of Wesley's mind be taken into account, while the declaration of faith is at important points incomplete, the rules relating to conduct are distinguished by comprehensive fullness. As Bishops Coke and Asbury said, in their notes upon the Discipline, this "section forms perhaps one of the completest systems of Christian ethics or morals, for its size, ever published by an uninspired writer." The entire movement of life is touched by it, in principle, and in some instances the ground is so covered that nothing can be added. Upon its inspection one will be struck, also, by the deep perception of the demands of Bible truth, and knowledge of the human heart, which this code exhibits. While certain things are in terms cut off others are left to the Christian conscience and judgment. By way of illustration, and as showing Wesley's masterly power of condensed statement, take his law regarding the recreations which "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness" may not indulge in. With terse force they are forbidden "*such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus.*"

No attempt is made to enumerate inhibited pleasures. Wesley was not more apostolic than statesmanlike. In the spirit and after the method of the Master, he covered this field with absolute completeness, for our times as well as his own; and yet so left the matter to the individual conscience and freedom as to lay upon both an exercise in the choice of amusements which marks and develops Christian character or shows its absence. Under this law denial to one's self of doubtful pleasures, when tempted thereto, must give moral strength, and

so be a true spiritual culture. No clause in this remarkable body of rules more strikingly demonstrates the consummate sagacity and wisdom of our great founder. More is the pity that we should not have been satisfied to leave this subject where he left it, seeking only a proper enforcement of his rule by judicious administration. Emphatically is this the case in view of the circumstance that, in vain effort to improve upon Wesley, we have a supposed law, bad in form, and really void because it is an attempt to modify a constitutional provision.

I. The new rule specifies as forbidden "dancing, playing at games of chance, attending theaters, horse races, circuses, dancing parties, or patronizing dancing schools." This is a singular list. So far as the enumeration goes, while our people are denied attendance upon theaters or dancing parties they may witness the great gambling games of baseball and indulge in minstrel shows; and though not allowed to see horse races or circuses they can turn out to boat races and look on while the brutalities of football are perpetrated. The boy's purely "chance" game of "odd or even" is prohibited, while it is doubtful whether whist, which is largely a game of skill, may not under the rule be indulged in. True, this enumeration is followed by a general clause against "taking such other amusements as are obviously of misleading or questionable moral tendency." But, in view of the general rule in question, one may say of it all, *Cui bono?* What good is there in it beyond Wesley's legislation? Apparently intending to enlarge that, its influence has probably been weakened by fixing the mind on an arbitrary specification, whereas he centers it upon the tendency of any diversion, with reference to spiritual results.

II. A further objection to this action arises from the fact that it is void of all effect, as a mere repetition of the general rule regarding amusements, or is an unauthorized attempt to revoke or change that rule. The rule includes all that can relate to this question. No one lawfully may join in any diversion which cannot be "used in the name of the Lord Jesus." Hence, if the new act goes no farther it is legally superfluous—adds nothing, and consequently is a nullity.

By the clearest implication the rule allows to our people all amusements which *can* be "used in the name of the Lord Jesus." This evidently covers all that are not *per se* sinful, and

which do not involve bad associations. Here is the area of Christian liberty which Wesley and our general rule leave to personal discretion. At this point the only questions which legally can be made respect excessive indulgence, or other special circumstances of evil tendency. As a consequence, if the new act at any point circumscribes this operation or effect of the general rule it is void, as in so far attempting to "revoke" it, while if it authorizes what the rule did not allow it also is for so much void, as attempting to "change" it.

The argument is this: The general rule is a part of the constitution. It covers the whole question of amusements. If the new act merely repeats it, in whole or part, the new act must be inoperative, because adding nothing whatever to existing law. On the other hand, if it is to be construed as narrowing or enlarging the operation or effect of the general rule, it is an attempt so far to "revoke" or "change" it, contrary to the fundamental law, which of course renders it void. Should it be regarded as having all three of the effects suggested, the result obviously is the same.

III. If it be said that the new action is authorized by the power given to make rules and regulations for the Church, the answer is obvious. That relates to matters respecting which the constitution is silent; when it makes a rule upon a subject, that becomes exclusive, because supreme. Nor does the negative form of the provision affect this conclusion. Its evident purpose is to lay down the law of amusements. It had been the sole rule of the united societies and of the Church, until the constitution was enacted. That it was made a part of this instrument evinces an intention to maintain it as the only law upon the subject. Manifestly, the rule no more can be changed by adding to than by taking from it. The General Conference has as much authority to make a new article of religion as a new general rule. It alone cannot enlarge the organic law.

Possibly it may be claimed that what has been done is legitimate as defining or specifying certain things covered and denied to our people by the effect of this general rule. But the proposition is untenable. Such a question can arise and be determined only through the judicial power, in applying the law to cases. While as an exercise of legislative authority the Conference may declare the meaning of its own acts, with

respect to their future operation, it cannot so decide an interpretation of the constitution. That action belongs alone to its judicial functions, and, as in our book on our organic law is fully shown, can be taken only where a case comes before the body for decision. To illustrate, and show a correct view of the law at this point, suppose a young woman to be arraigned for violating the general rule in question. The indictment might be in this form:

CHARGE.

The taking of such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus.

SPECIFICATIONS.

1. That on May 4, 1895, the said Amelia B., then being at the home of Lucy D., a member of another Church, and a girl about the age of said A. B., to wit, sixteen years; and the mother of the said L. D. then playing a piece of music known as a waltz, upon her piano, the said A. B. and L. D., in the presence of the household, did dance to the same, for the time of ten minutes.

2. That on July 4, 1895, at the town of M., the said A. B. did attend a gathering of people brought together for what is known as a "platform dance," to which bad characters resorted, and where beer was sold and drank, whereby many there became intoxicated; that, as one of said gathering, and in the presence of various disreputable persons, with one George H., an irreligious man, the said A. B. did dance to the music of a waltz, for the time of ten minutes.

Now, let it be assumed that the first specification was clearly proved, but that the second was not; that as to the second the case was one of "mistaken identity." A question of law would then arise as to whether the first specification sustained the charge. This could be determined only by an interpretation of the general rule, and so the committee or court trying the case would be compelled to decide whether or not it forbade the "dance" of the two girls as a "diversion," which, under the circumstances supposed, could not be taken in the name of Christ. For in one view the charge would be proved, and the party found guilty, while in the other it would fail, and she of course be acquitted. That the latter result must follow on the facts supposed seems beyond question. No one, surely, could say that the conduct set out in the first specification violated this general rule. Yet it would be forbidden by the unauthorized act of 1872—a circumstance which serves to show that the letter was designed to "change" the rule, and as a conse-

quence its unconstitutionality. So, also, had the second specification been proved, and the first failed, the same question of law would have arisen, though the decision manifestly must have been that it did support the charge, and required a finding of guilt. But the special point is that a decision upon the sufficiency of either specification is necessarily and purely a judicial act. Hence the General Conference has no power to legislate what it should be, in that or any other case. A fatal objection to the action in 1872 is that it attempts exactly such an inversion and perversion of powers.

Take another case. The rules forbid the putting on of "costly apparel." Will anyone claim that the General Conference can determine by legislation what apparel is or is not "costly," within the purview of this provision? That obviously falls within its judicial powers alone, and hence the clause can be construed only when a case arises for decision. The rule covers the whole ground, the General Conference is powerless to revoke or change it, and so is invested with authority simply to interpret and apply it in the decision of cases. The same is true of the clause which debars our people from "reading those books which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God." Whether, for example, *Trilby* falls into the forbidden list is a question solely of judicial interpretation. Hence it cannot be passed upon until some one is put upon trial for a violation of the rule in reading it. The General Conference, by virtue of its legislative power, is not authorized to make an *index expurgatorius*, and thus say that this or any other book is in the excluded category. Fortunately, the body never has attempted the folly of such action. Why it should have been done with respect to the cognate question of amusements is one of the things which passeth understanding. That it was a great mistake seems too evident for debate, in view of the policy and principles of the general rule. We entertain no doubt of its having driven thousands of excellent young people into other Churches, whose rulers were sufficiently discerning to see that it is not necessary to strain at a gnat in order to avoid swallowing a camel.

The truth is, as we apprehend, that the law of our Church as to amusements is purely Wesleyan and organic, and, as the constitution now stands, beyond the power of the General

Conference. Its action on the subject, as embodied in ¶ 240 of the Discipline, must be regarded, therefore, not as law, but as the advice or opinion of those who voted for it. While in that view entitled perhaps to consideration, we confess to a strong preference for the deeper wisdom of Wesley and our general rule on this subject. The discretion it allows is within the limits of morality. But this leaves a field of Christian liberty, under a law which is ever an appeal to conscience and a help to the formation of moral character. Excessive indulgence in an allowable amusement, like gluttony, may become an imprudence, scandalize the Church, and so subject one to discipline; as also might be the case were one to take legitimate diversions in improper places. For instance, a Christian could hardly justify habitual resort to saloons for drinking water or the stopping in gambling dens to wait for trains.

We trust that sufficient reasons have been given for letting the anomalous action of 1872 pass into "innocuous desuetude," and the great original law of Wesley come once more into commanding position and influence. In that event the Church will be saved at once from the humiliation of a supposed law, bad in form and defective in substance, and from the losses it causes her by driving young people of character and culture into other communions.

Miram L. Sibley

SECOND PAPER.

THE object of this article is to present in briefest form some reflections concerning the amusement regulations enacted by the General Conference of 1872, in their relation to the fundamental law of our Church. We make no attempt to discuss the character of the amusements particularly prohibited. It is proper, however, that we should guard against a false inference. No one can justly conclude from anything here written, or left unwritten, that we regard the end sought by the regulations in question otherwise than most important. The Church certainly has sufficient cause for seeking to guard against the

inroads of frivolity and worldliness. But how best to correct existing evils, or most effectually to prevent them, is a momentous question, to answer which would require extended and discriminating discussion. Upon this we do not now enter.

Our present question is purely legal. Are the special regulations touching amusements, in ¶ 240 of our Discipline, constitutional? Did the General Conference of 1872, in making these regulations, act within the limits of its constituted authority? As to this, it deserves to be noted:

1. The General Rules define the condition of membership in our Church, so far as moral and religious requirements are concerned. They are the statement of these conditions. Evidence of this appears at the beginning of every paragraph: "There is only one condition previously required," etc.; "It is expected of all who continue in these societies," etc. The beginning of the last paragraph is of marked significance: "These are the General Rules of our societies; all which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, which is the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice." This is intended, doubtless, to attach to these rules the weight of Scripture authority. It is also calculated and intended to prevent any narrowing or broadening of these rules by interpretation so as not to leave them in conformity with Scripture teaching. The General Rules thus profess to require no more and no less than God requires "in his written word." The ethical conditions of membership in our Church, as stated in these rules, recognize the same necessity for the exercise of Christian liberty, of good judgment, and of developed and refined conscientiousness that is recognized by the Scriptures. While the General Rules particularize at many points, and specifically prohibit things absolutely and universally wrong, with regard to things the moral quality of which is variable, according to circumstances or methods, they do not particularize, but include all such things under the guidance of a general principle. For example, profanity, drunkenness, and quite a number of other things are particularly forbidden. But the one general rule with regard to amusements is that which forbids "the taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus." Other examples might be given, but the above is sufficient and the one most pertinent to our purpose.

It was of this section of our Discipline that Coke and Asbury said, "The present section forms perhaps one of the completest systems of Christian ethics or morals, for its size, which ever was published by an uninspired writer." *

2. The fourth restrictive rule declares that "the General Conference shall not revoke nor change the General Rules of the United Societies." It is said, in ¶ 67, that "the General Conference shall have full power to make rules and regulations for our Church under the following limitations and restrictions." And one of the limitations is that just cited. This appears quite like a denial of any right to the General Conference to change the conditions of membership in our Church. If it is not that, what is it?

Of the restrictive rules in general it may be said that they are designed to protect rights and prerogatives in various directions. Thus, to avoid too much detail, beginning with the third restrictive rule, we find there a safeguard thrown around our episcopal form of government and "the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." The General Conference is not permitted to encroach in the slightest degree in this direction. The restrictive rule has always been construed rigidly, but not too rigidly. The only way in which any change can be brought about in our long-standing method of episcopal government is that prescribed for changing the constitution of the Church. What part the General Conference may have in this every reader is aware. The fifth restrictive rule protects both ministers and lay members in their right to duly appointed trial and appeal. The application and enforcement of the law of our Church is here properly guarded. The fourth restrictive rule, immediately preceding and thus emphasizing its significance, calls attention to, and guards, the law under which members must be tried. It is designed to protect the members of our Church against any change by the General Conference affecting the conditions of their church membership. These conditions may be lawfully changed, but not by the General Conference alone—not even by the vote of two thirds of the General Conference standing alone. Is anyone prepared to say that such a safeguard thrown around membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church is anything less than wise and

* Sherman's *History of the Discipline*, p. 113.

just? Shall it be held lawful for the General Conference, if it thinks best, to change the conditions of church membership every four years?

3. The General Conference of 1872, by enacting the amusement clause in ¶ 240, did change the conditions of church membership, and thus did what was equivalent to changing the General Rules. It may be said that these regulations were made in accordance with the spirit of the General Rules, and that there is no change that is essential. But this is not the case, for the regulations particularize at a point where the General Rules refrain from particularizing. They pronounce against certain forms of amusement a sweeping and undiscriminating judgment that is not in harmony, but rather in contrast, with both the spirit and method of the General Rules. They practically demand an ignoring, or slurring over, of genuine moral distinctions—a thing never wise or safe. They stand, therefore, in contrast with the General Rules in respect to the proper education of conscience. They leave no room for the administrators of Discipline to exercise discrimination with regard to matters which, whatever else may be said about them, cannot be wisely handled without discrimination. In short, both ministers and lay members find themselves confronting a new order, a changed condition of church membership, since the establishment of these regulations.

It will doubtless be held by some that the General Conference at the point in question acted not as a legislative, but as a judicial, body, and that these regulations must stand as a judicial interpretation of the fundamental law. Yet, it is sufficient to remark, in reply, that judicial bodies never interpret laws abstractly, but always with reference to a particular case. And the interpretation, while it may carry great weight in construing the law in similar particular cases, never attains to the authority of law itself. The General Conference did not, and could not, act in its judicial capacity, for the reason just suggested. Acting as it did, as a legislative body, it overlooked at this point the significance of the fourth restrictive rule.

Enoch McChesney.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Hegel felt that religion was thought; Schleiermacher thought religion was feeling; but religion has both thought and feeling, the feeling being the proper and natural product of the thought under the illumination and quickening of the Holy Spirit.

Precipitate action, a disregard of fundamental law by unconstitutional methods of procedure, and the election of any but the best and most suitable men to high office—these are the gravest perils besetting the approaching General Conference.

A long-standing rule in the office of this *Review* is that no paper which is a review of a book can be published among the contributed articles. A rule agreed upon in all publishing offices is that no manuscript intended for publication should ever be rolled, but should be folded flat.

In the death of Bishop Atticus G. Haygood, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, bereavement is not limited to the communion in which he was so eminent and powerful. It is hardly too much to say that all mankind have lost a wise and useful friend, for he loved and labored for man as man. His helpful sympathies knew no boundaries less than the whole human race. Especially the Christian people of the United States, from Hatteras to the Golden Gate, from the Thousand Islands to Florida Keys, may well mourn under a sense of loss.

Christ is the interpreter of God; the New Testament interprets Christ; the initial and immediate, and also the consummate, task of theology is to interpret the New Testament. All churches and creed-holders perceive that theology is to be more and more biblical. Exegesis is both the primary and the postgraduate teacher of theology. Exegetical theology parentally precedes systematic theology. The transfers of Professor Warfield, formerly of Allegheny, now of Princeton, and of Professor Stevens,

of Yale, from a chair of New Testament exegesis to one of systematic theology were logical and philosophical. The man who knows the foundations passes on naturally to the superstructure built thereon. The hope of theology rests upon a rational, progressive, and consistent exegesis; an exegesis centering in Christ and moving outward from him; starting with the consciousness of Jesus as to the being, nature, purpose, and fatherhood of God and as to his own Sonship, this consciousness being corroborated by his miracles, his teachings, the fulfillment of his words, his life, death, resurrection, ascension, the reality of his kingdom progressing in the world, and the Christian consciousness. Few things have rendered greater service to Christian theology than the Tübingen attack of fifty years ago on the New Testament, inasmuch as it drove the scholars of the Church to more searching New Testament study. This really brought in a new day for theology, which has come to rest its reasonings more directly on a critical exegesis of the New Testament (and of the Old Testament as well, as preparatory for, and bearing on, the New); an exegesis analytic and synthetic, spiritual, broadly constructive, and thoroughly coherent, interpreting each passage in conformity with its context, and every part in the light of the whole; discarding utterly the inane, wooden, mechanical, disconnected proof-text methods once in vogue, by which the most abominable absurdities could be supported as easily as the most reasonable conclusions.

THE POWER OF APPOINTMENT.

By the will of the Methodist Episcopal Church the power of appointment has always been lodged in the episcopacy. Examination of our denominational beginnings ascertains that Mr. Wesley's assistants, afterward general superintendents or bishops, came into the new Church upon its organization with the appointing power received from Wesley in their hands. By Asbury's sagacious and timely request that power was at once submitted to vote of the new organization, and by that vote it was confirmed and settled beyond dispute as the decree of the denomination. This was prudent because political conditions made it possible that Wesley's authority, if left unsupported, might presently be called in question, inasmuch as his well-known tory views, though not so rabid as those of his brother Charles, tended to alienate American Methodists, who, with their compatriots, were in no mood to accept dictation in Church or State from English authority. The organizing Conference confirming this power

ordained a corner stone around and upon which the foundations and superstructure of episcopal Methodism were then constructed. John Wesley first, and the General Conference afterward, located the power of appointment in the general superintendency. There it still remains, the Church having steadily refused to disturb the historic foundations or to impair the integrity of the structure reared by coordinating parts and methods with the initial corner-stone decision. Propositions to disturb and distribute the power of appointment have always been rejected by the deliberative wisdom of the Church.

Be it noted that this appointing power rules over bishops, presiding elders, and pastors alike. All are subject to it. To this power in the episcopacy each bishop as an individual laborer is required to be as obedient as the humblest pastor in the Church. The authority resident in the Episcopal Board as a unit, delegated to an impartial committee selected for the purpose, assigns each bishop his particular work twice a year, and he goes to his appointment by order of an authority he cannot control, the same as any other Methodist itinerant, submitting to that necessary authority sometimes with a degree of inconvenience and discomfort to himself and to his family not exceeded by what is endured by the average pastor. So long as the present plan of superintendency continues the circuit system is preserved among us, the bishops being the great circuit riders of our itinerancy. They, preeminently, are our traveling preachers, who receive their appointments, pick up their saddlebags, and start around on their big circuits, to be separated long and far from home and family.

Two principal modifications suggested for this historic method and order call, the one for an elective presiding eldership and the other for a districted episcopacy. By the first the power and responsibility of selecting presiding elders would be taken from the bishops and put upon the pastors. Once a General Conference voted to authorize the election of presiding elders by the Annual Conference, but Joshua Soule raised a question as to the constitutionality of such procedure, and the next General Conference suspended the action of its predecessor, while a later one canceled it altogether. An indication of the careful purpose of the Church to keep the power of appointment where the founders put it is seen in the fact that the form of appointment of even all General Conference officers by the bishops is still extant, as if elections by the General Conference were to be, in form, at least, a request to the bishops to appoint certain men to special

positions other than pastoral. The election of presiding elders by Annual Conferences (whether composed, as now, solely of ministers, or of preachers and laymen, as some advocate) would be the exercise by those bodies of the power to appoint to pastoral work (the eldership being essentially pastoral); a power which the General Conference itself has studiously refrained from appropriating. The General Conference elects men to the episcopal office for the oversight of the work, but all its action has implied that the power of appointment to pastoral work is understood and ordained to rest in the office of superintendent or bishop.

The other modification suggested is the replacing of our itinerant general superintendency by a districted episcopacy, confining each bishop to a specified territory (for four years or more), and not allowing him to travel through the connection. This is not only a destruction of our present plan and an introduction of a very different one, the expediency of which is more than doubtful, but also a disturbing and dividing of the power of appointment to pastoral work, for the bishops are chief pastors. By the method proposed the General Conference would exercise the power of appointment over each bishop and assign him to a limited field for the ensuing quadrennium. This takes away from the episcopacy the power of dividing up its work among the members of the Episcopal Board. It is clear that an itinerant general superintendency is what the Church has deliberately preferred from the beginning. Around it the first General Conference organized the Church, enforcing upon the bishops the duty of traveling through the connection and supervising all the work, but leaving it with them to decide their movements and to divide their work by their own all-surveying judgment of the needs of the Church. And to this day the General Conference has not given directions to the bishops as to their mutual relations or their episcopal visitations. The motion made and passed some years ago concerning the assignment of bishops to Conferences adjacent to their residences, which met so peculiar a fate, was a request. The whole history of the Church, from a point antedating the organization of the General Conference until now, shows this power of episcopal distribution to be, in the judgment and by decree of the Church, resident in the episcopacy as a body. If all but one of the bishops were to die the whole power and responsibility of the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church would rest in that one bishop; he would be under all the obligations of the office, and for the whole Church, including mis-

sion fields. And manifestly he would have to choose which of many pressing things he would do and to which of many important calls to labor he would respond. The same principle now applies to the sixteen holding authority and carrying responsibility in the unity of the episcopal office. They, as a body, must judge what work is most urgent and how it shall be divided among themselves. Coordinate with the missionary bishops in the mission fields, they have the right, and may have the duty, to visit those fields also.

In the fact that the General Conference which first elected a missionary bishop did not do so until the permission of the Church had been secured in the constitutional way for a change of the restrictive rule, is proof that it has always been understood that the General Conference has not in itself the power either to limit the jurisdiction of a general superintendent or to create a bishop with only local authority. It should be clear to every mind that the districting of a general superintendent to any particular group of Conferences, as is by some proposed, is a proposition not to be enacted by vote of the General Conference, and one, moreover, out of harmony with the intention of the fathers and with the historic foundations of our system as the fathers laid them. Nothing is clearer than that the founders distinctly meant something very different from a diocesan episcopacy, an office which should not have the least appearance of being diocesan or local, unless it be clearer that the Church ever since has consistently and firmly maintained that original decision. It has recently been pointed out, publicly and pertinently, in an able article that if the General Conference has the right to district a bishop for four years it may do it for eight or twelve years or for the bishop's lifetime; and this would mean that the General Conference has power to alter our itinerant general superintendency into a diocesan episcopacy and remodel the Methodist Episcopal Church as constituted by the fathers into another Protestant Episcopal Church, without any respect to our restrictive rule requiring the formal and registered consent of the Church at large for a change so radical and so fundamentally at variance with the organic structure.

Next to the question of the constitutionality of the proposition to district the bishops by vote of the General Conference comes the question whether such a change of plan and policy is necessary, supposing it to be attempted in the constitutional way. Is not the work of superintendency divided among the bishops,

now and by the historic method, with pure and sole regard for the best interests of the Church? Is the body of men known as the General Conference, few members of which travel widely or know the state of the Church broadly, in a position to understand the needs of our enormous denomination in its entirety and of its different localities comparatively, better than the body of men known as the Episcopal Board, every member of which travels widely through the connection and acquires a scrutinizing acquaintance with the work and the workers? Is it at all likely that the General Conference could distribute the bishops more wisely than the Episcopal Board can assign its members? The General Conference, and the Committee on Episcopacy as well, is so large a body that information possessed by individual members one by one as to the special needs of particular localities can hardly be communicated to the whole, and the sessions are so crowded with business that, were such impartation of intelligence possible, there is not time. The Episcopal Board, on the contrary, is so small a body that information held by one bishop can be made the possession of all, and for this there is time, inasmuch as it is their chief business.

Under our system as we now have it there is the possibility of having the continued presidency of one and the same bishop for consecutive years in any Conference where exceptional conditions seem to call for it. It is in the power of the Episcopal Board itself, on its own motion or prompted by recommendation of the General Conference, or request of an Annual Conference, to prolong the jurisdiction of one bishop over the same territory, if and whenever the needs of the work or other considerations make it desirable. The records of not a few Annual Conferences show that at various periods each of those Conferences has been in the hands of one and the same bishop for a succession of years. For definite instances, this was the case with a number of the New England Conferences; and the Missouri Conference had that experience again and again, being several times in charge of the same bishop for two and three successive years. For a recent instance, Bishop Vincent has had the Oklahoma Conference for the past three years. In numerous cases, by reason of death or illness changing plans, a Conference has had the benefit, if such it be, of the same presidency in successive sessions. The continued presidency of one bishop in a Conference or group of Conferences is therefore not in violation of our present order; but the power to determine lies with the Episcopal Board. Even

if the bishops were districted, the right and duty of the other bishops to step in and do the work in case of death or disability of the local bishop would have to be recognized and prescribed. There is no room to doubt that under our present method the Episcopal Board distributes its members with utmost possible reference to the needs of Conferences and the fitness of men for existing exigencies, as well as to considerations of economy as affected by proximity and chronological order in each bishop's block of Conferences.

INADVISABILITY OF DISTRICTING BISHOPS.

Once in four years the Church is turned into a debating society. The approach of General Conference brings agitation. Every man that hath a dream of how things might be bettered tells his dream. The amount of mental energy, acuteness, and inventiveness displayed in these eager discussions allays all fear of stagnation or apathy ; and Methodism manifests its capacity for self-criticism and reconstructive enterprise, entertaining evidently the purpose of improvement whenever changes become clearly necessary to the maintenance or normal increase of efficiency.

Everywhere and always advocates of radical reform are apt to be, by temperament and by the exigencies of their situation, aggressive, zealous, and clamorous. In debates they are loudest, longest, and most frequent. In the absence of any correspondingly adequate statement in apology for things as they are, an uninstructed stranger hearing these debates might conclude that the system under discussion must be a rickety and ridiculous pile of blunders and anachronisms which should be demolished at once for the comfort and safety of those residing under it.

Lest it be made to appear that we are denominational descendants of men who had so little wisdom that they have loaded upon their successors a system made up principally of mistakes, it may be well occasionally for somebody to inquire gently whether established usages and polity have any excuse for coming into being or any justification for continuing to exist.

In these quadrennial discussions the episcopacy, as to plan and personnel, is not overlooked, but receives a measure of attention fully proportioned to the dignity and importance of the office. And among the changes suggested as improvements is one which would attempt to secure some of the advantages of a dio-

cesan episcopacy. Now, it is well to remember that it is not possible to have all the benefits of all systems under any one system. The desire to secure such monopoly of benefits is natural, but futile. Diocesan bishops may be able to do some things which itinerant general superintendents cannot; but judicious selection of method is made by a comparison of advantages. As between two possible plans of administrative and executive superintendency we decide by considering which is best suited to the character of our work, most in harmony with the spirit of our communion, with an amazingly successful history, and even with the intention of the fathers, and which adjusts best with the rest of our peculiar machinery, and most fully meets the needs arising out of all these features and facts.

Supposing it to be proposed to obtain for the Methodist Episcopal Church, by proper constitutional process, a districted episcopacy, it is well to raise the question whether there are any points in which that plan would be obviously inferior for our uses to our unbrokenly historic method.

I. In the Annual Conferences would there be any loss by the districting of bishops?

The present plan is evidently calculated to secure for the various types and classes of ministers their due appreciation in their turn. It is certain that contrasting types of ministerial character and work will commend themselves differently to different bishops. If a bishop be himself a man of rough vigor he will be apt to favor men of his own type. The driving, pushing, aggressive, ambitious, obtrusively energetic sort will seem to him the ideal men for bringing things to pass. He will not naturally ask concerning the depth and permanence of showy and measurable results, accomplished perhaps by undue admixture of carnal elements, so long as the definite and conspicuous results are achieved. Such a bishop is not likely to appreciate at its proper value the quiet strength of more refined and less demonstrative natures, the genuine and abiding worth of modest men, the result of whose labor rises without sound of ax, or hammer, or clatter of any tools, or shout of the workman; strong, symmetrical, and stable as a temple; an unselfish, unsensational, discreet, and edifying ministry. In making appointments he may naturally prefer the rougher, brawnier, more rugged men. By similar working of personal preference a bishop of opposite type, of finer fiber, higher intellectual culture, more refined spirituality, and less in sympathy with carnal methods, will inevitably in his

turn understand, believe in, and, so far as is in his power, promote men of like character with himself and his ideals. This he will conceive to be his duty to the Church, as did his predecessor in the opposite direction. Human nature, in bishops, as in other men, being built that way, it is certain that constant change of presidents in an Annual Conference operates to guarantee justice in the long run to all types of ministerial ability and temperament. District the bishops, and within the bounds of many a Conference the demand from one class or another of the ministry for a new and different bishop would be loud before a single quadrennium of continued presidency had passed.

Again, as to apprehending a situation and forming correct judgment of the work, no bishop can be infallible. Though he come to a Conference with a pure, consecrated, and prayerful purpose to be just and wise, yet because he is a man he is liable to err in judgment. Instances are reported where an Annual Conference has felt with considerable unanimity somewhat forcibly expressed that the departing president had left behind him, as unpleasant reminders of his visit, some serious blunders to embarrass the work and worry the workers. Now, for such a Conference, as well as for individual churches and ministers who feel aggrieved, there is advantage and hope in having the scheme of appointments reconsidered and reconstructed twelve months later by another mind. The thoughtful know how hard it is for one to perceive his own mistakes, or, seeing them, to acknowledge and correct them. Can it be doubted that the peace and tranquillity of Zion are promoted by the fact that preachers and people suffering from unsuitable appointments are pacified and made patient by the certainty that another bishop will preside next year, and so these mistakes are not so likely to be perpetuated as under the continual presidency of any one man?

II. In the Episcopal Board would any disadvantage develop from districting the bishops?

Under our present plan the several bishops are not made to be rivals, except in a noble emulation to render the utmost possible service for the good of the whole work. The inspiration given a bishop is general, not local, large, and not small. No one is so placed that he can aggrandize his own vicinage at the expense of his neighbor. Not the exclusive interests of one locality, but the greatest good of the greatest number throughout the entire Church is what each bishop is compelled to desire and seek. A localized jurisdiction instantly changes the relations of the bishops

among themselves. He who is responsible for a particular territory for a length of time must systematically seek to seize for it the best and strongest possible; not having the same interest in the needs of other territory, but contending for his own district against the claims of others. The several bishops are thus made rivals.

Again, for other reasons the internal relations of the Episcopal Board are not likely to be made more amicable by the process or the results of districting its members. Suppose our territory to be divided into districts and the General Conference to be about to distribute the bishops among the districts. Inevitably the personal friends of each bishop will muster in force and beset the Committee on Episcopacy, pressing the claims of their favorite for one of the most desirable districts, and using all means to influence the General Conference in his favor. Just as inevitably, also, each district will make plain its preference for one bishop over the others, and appear by representatives on the scene to push its demands. Under this method odious comparisons and painful distinctions between the different bishops would be made by argument and vote, and the equality in dignity and in standing before the Church now existing among our chief pastors would be destroyed. Such contending would be promotive of turbulence and antagonisms, and injustice might easily result. A bishop on the frontier must contemplate the possibility of being kept there all his life, separated from advantages belonging to the centers, simply because his personal allies may be less numerous, less pushing and hustling, more scrupulous, and less expert in lobbying, bargaining, and political manipulation. He will feel the sharp injustice of being kept from his fair chance, perhaps by methods which his ideals of Christian manliness would not permit him to use in the affairs of the kingdom of God. The present placing of the bishops by seniority has evils, but nothing approaching those which would attend the plan of districting as by some proposed. The advantage of the present plan is that it settles by a fixed rule, without strife or debate, where each bishop shall reside and put forth his local labors, the bishops themselves choosing in the order of seniority in office. Also, within the limits of that rule and order, the plan allows each bishop (except the last) some exercise of choice among the residences untaken when his turn comes to choose. It also assures even "the babe of the episcopacy," as Bishop Ames once phrased it, that if his life is spared beyond that of older men his providential chance for the more de-

sirable locations will come. Furthermore, as things now are each bishop, the youngest in office as well as the oldest, takes his turn in visitation of the more cultivated and eligible sections, in the presidency of the larger and stronger Conferences, and in being on the committee in the Episcopal Board to assign to each of its members his next list of Conferences. If any bishop be now held to be greater or more influential than another it must be by what he is, and not by residing in a particular place or holding a certain jurisdiction. A plan of assignment more equitable, steady, and likely to promote contentment in those affected by it would be hard to imagine. It leaves the smallest possible room for jealousies inside the episcopacy; it is promotive of intestinal peace, and ought to make the inner atmosphere of the board genial, sweet, and balmy. Nothing can be less edifying to a denomination than dissonance, antagonism, and strife among its bishops.

III. In the work at large and in denominational life and interests would there be any loss from districting the bishops?

The argument for confining a bishop in a particular district, on the score of adaptation, is an equal argument for keeping him there indefinitely so long as the fitness continues, and if he remains there he more and more assimilates the region to himself, tints his district with his personality, and permeates it with his views and sentiments in proportion to the force of his individuality. This force is likely to be strong, because the Church is not apt to elect feeble, negative, and colorless men to the bishopric, and, being exerted from the seat of authority, it has a chance to be powerfully influential. The denominational uniformity and consistency would thus be broken up into differing sections, each colored and modeled after the type of its bishop. Unity of doctrine, worship, and custom would be greatly diminished as time went on; extreme variations would be introduced, and sympathetic affinity between the sections impaired. This is the spectacle in the Protestant Episcopal Church—small agreement of doctrine or utterance among its bishops; no regularity throughout the Church; on the basis of the prayer book, all kinds of worship and ceremonial, from evangelical Protestant simplicity, to complications of ritual and ornamentation of altar and priest not to be distinguished from Roman Catholic forms and practices. An effort at comprehensiveness, with the settling of the bishops in dioceses, results in most contradictory teachings and ceremonies. Between the most evangelical Low Churchman, now sadly in the

minority, and the farthest Romeward of the Anglo-Catholics, now so dominant and crescent, how vast is the contrast! Each bishop colors his diocese. And the tendency of any diocesan or districted episcopacy is to make the territorial map of the denomination a crazy-quilt of patches more remarkable for contrasts than for resemblances. Under our itinerant general superintendency no bishop is long enough in power in any one section to implicate his environment in his personality.

Again, the effect of a districted episcopacy would be to weaken our connectional solidarity and momentum, so imposing to many beholders and so powerful in unanimous action. A few inside undervalue this integral connectional solidity, but discerning minds outside of Methodism are impressed to the point of voluntary testimony as to its weight and force. A Congregational theological professor, unsurpassed in eminence, information, and sound judgment, says that this cohesive unity, which is both organic and vital, together with our great numbers, makes Methodism the most formidable competitor of Romanism. These are his words: "I think the Catholics respect and fear you Methodists more than they do all the rest of us together. You are organized into a solid unity, as they are. Your columns are maneuvered together as a whole in unanimity of coordinated action. In you they encounter an army; they look on us as guerrillas." Another non-Methodist student of denominational peculiarities says that no other communion equals ours in the facilities it has, by reason of structural, conscious, and sympathetic unity, for communicating intelligence, impulse, enthusiasm, purpose, and plans of campaign from the centers of deliberation, authority, energy, and influence out through the whole body even to the remotest members. But this denominational solidity is due to nothing so much as to our itinerant general superintendency, which is the only agency circulating through the whole Church, the bishops being the only officials who travel through the entire connection, while secretaries, agents, and editors travel less widely. In this itinerant general superintendency the fullest intelligence, the highest authority, the strongest ability, and selected representatives of the noblest manhood of the Church visit every part, giving to the remotest and obscurest the benefit of the denomination's best. This impartial, democratic, universal circulation through the entire frame of a huge denomination makes it indeed a communion, building all parts together in bonds of intelligent and unhesitating loyalty, and in such one-

ness as, for example, makes the heart of New York Methodism beat in practical and helpful sympathy with Denver. To destroy the itinerant general superintendency is to stop this circulation and impair this living and sympathetic unity.

Again, a districted episcopacy would work injury to the newer, less prominent, and needier sections. The bishops of greatest experience, wisdom, and power would not only be located in the older centers, but confined thereto. It is hardly likely that juniors would be stationed in the centers and seniors on the frontiers. Remote and struggling parts of the work would not share in the inspiration and other benefits of the presence, long-gathering prestige, and counsel of the most sagacious trained masters of episcopal administration. Suppose Janes and Simpson and Ames had been shut up by assignment each to his own limited district. How incalculable the loss to the Church at large! Matthew Simpson could never have become a national possession, a national power, and an object of national pride—the most illustrious and universally influential bishop in all the wide interests of religion and of the State that this land has ever seen. His magnificent powers would have been confined, and many parts of our country and our Church would have been deprived of them.

Two more reasons against a change of plan may be briefly stated. One of the reasons given against our present plan is the expense entailed upon the Church by the wide traveling of the bishops; and it is said that the laymen especially will insist on applying business principles to the economical management of denominational machinery, and will stop this waste by locating the bishops so that each one will visit only the territory adjacent to his official residence. But be it observed that the whole logical force and natural drift of the argument for districting the bishops is for a diocesan episcopacy, and that means not less expense to the Church but more, because it means a very large increase in the number of bishops, after the plan of the Protestant Episcopal body; so that instead of being a movement toward economy it is really toward a far more expensive system of operation. More episcopal attention for local interests and for the various sections of our territory can be obtained only by a multiplication of bishops.

Lastly, three quadrenniums of a districted episcopacy would deprive the councils of the Church of that compared, corrected, and re-enforced knowledge and balanced judgment of the whole work which are now available in the Board of Bishops.

THE ARENA.

FIRST FRIENDLY RESPONSE TO MY FRIENDLY APPEAL.

In the January number of the *Review* my friend, Judge Reynolds, appended to a little article of mine a well-meant criticism. By an oversight my critic at the top of page 98 has erroneously ascribed to me a statement which, so far as I know, was first made in an editorial in *The Christian Advocate* of New York. The statement in question is that, of the members of the General Conference of 1888, "some who believed in the law as declared disapproved of the appeal to the Church, and so voted with the minority." The judge indorses this assertion so far as to say that it is "altogether likely." Now, what is this but saying that it is altogether likely that this class of voters, "having an opinion one way, voted the other?" An assertion which my good critic in the next sentence but one declares illegitimate and uncharitable. I cannot understand how he failed to see the fatal effect of his own language. In consequence of it, and of the prior mistake, all the presumption and uncharitableness charged upon me for "classifying" voters, and for implying a doubt whether every vote was determined by the voter's positive belief touching the judicial part of the semijudicial and semilegislative report, falls back upon the author of the editorial statement and upon the brother who indorses it as "altogether likely."

In the same sentence of the editorial from which my critic takes the statement he erroneously ascribes to me there is another assertion which deserves attention. It reads as follows: "Most of the believers in the eligibility of women under the law voted against it," that is, against the semijudicial, semilegislative, amended report. "Most" of them. This implies that in the judgment of the editorial writer not all, but only the greater part of those who believed women eligible under the existing law, voted against the proposed interpretation. Suppose now that the rest of those believers in eligibility under the law as it stood had voted as did "most," who can say that the scale so evenly balanced would not have been turned and an opposite judicial result attained? Whether it would have been so or not does not here concern me in the least; what does interest me is the fact that here, in an authority which Judge Reynolds highly respects, we have a bold though indirect assertion that, on the side of those who believed women eligible under the law, as well as on the side of those who disbelieved, an unknown number of the voters voted, not according to their understanding of the true meaning of the law, but according to their attitude toward the proposal to consult the Church. The full original statement of the editorial was as follows (italics mine): "*Most* of the believers in the eligibility of women under the law voted against it (that is, the amended report); some who did not believe in the eligibility of women under the law, and were wholly opposed to their

ever becoming eligible, voted against the report after amendment *because of the proposition to submit the change of the constitution to the Church;* and *for the same reason* some who could not decide for eligibility *voted for* the amended report."*

The present issue, then, reduces itself to this: Is any method of *judicial* procedure in a supreme ecclesiastical court legitimate, defensible, and as a precedent safe, under which it is "altogether likely," or under which, as asserted by *The Christian Advocate*, it is a simple fact that an unknown number of the judges on both sides of the judicial question gave their votes, not *according to their real view of the interpretation proposed, but according to their approval or disapproval of a legislative rider attached thereto?* If my esteemed friend is prepared to answer this question in the affirmative I am prepared to accept the verdict of the Church and of intelligent men anywhere as to the whole issue between us. If he cannot answer it in the affirmative he stands precisely where I stand, and, by every obligation of fidelity to sound methods in our supreme judicial decisions, is bound to unite with me in condemning, not the men, but the procedure of 1888.

On page 88 of the critique my readers are told what is my precise contention; the statement given I cannot accept. Let me rather speak for myself. My claim is threefold. First, that in May, 1888, the question of the admissibility of women to the General Conference under the existing law was solely a judicial question. Second, that on the question purely and solely the General Conference has never yet given a decision. Third, that according to the statements of the editorial above quoted—and they come from the honored chairman of the Judiciary Committee of 1892—the record of the vote on the semijudicial, semilegislative amended report affords no decisive evidence whatever that a majority of the voters held, or did not hold, that women were properly eligible under the existing law. The process, not the intent of the men, was at fault. It left the judicial question wholly undecided. The procedure and its results were illegitimate, indefensible, and as a precedent unsafe. If my critic doubts it I am ready to unite with him in an appeal of the question to the supreme court of our Church at its approaching session. Not that I am eager to hasten or to facilitate the admission of women, for I am not. I fear they are coming in quite too soon to meet the demands of the principles I taught four years ago, and often since, touching the dual human unit. I suggest the appeal simply for the reason that, if the Church cannot agree touching a point of this sort, the General Conference is the only tribunal provided by which the question can legitimately be settled.

One final word. In case new criticisms are attached to the foregoing paragraphs and printed in the next issue of the *Review*, I shall not complain, provided only it is understood that, if I desire, I shall have my parliamentary right to close the debate in the same number, or in the next following. Meantime, as for years past, I shall devoutly and con-

* *Christian Advocate*, September 13, 1894.

tinually pray that if I am in any error on this question the truth may appear and may speedily triumph. W. F. Warren.

Boston, January 18, 1896.

A REPLY TO DR. WARREN.

The first paragraph of the foregoing is all that I see any occasion to reply to. It seems to me that Dr. Warren has therein fallen into a strange misapprehension. To say that some who believed in the law as declared (in the original report) disapproved of the appeal to the Church, and so voted with the minority (against the amended report), is by no means to accuse them of having an opinion one way and voting another.

The report, as presented for final action, was twofold. It declared the law as it was, and proposed a vote on the question of changing it. Anyone who believed the law was rightly declared, but was opposed to stirring up the Church by submitting a proposition for a constitutional change, might with perfect consistency vote against the amended report, being compelled to vote on it, as a whole, because a vote in its favor would commit him to two things, one of which he did not approve. As I said, it is quite likely that some were placed in that predicament, and felt constrained to vote in the negative.

On the other hand, Dr. Warren alleged that some who voted *for* the report, did not believe in that part of it which was declarative of the law, and therefore did not mean all that they said. Cannot Dr. Warren see the distinction between an affirmative and a negative position under such circumstances? A man may consistently refuse to vote that both of two things are right as long as he believes in only one of them; but he cannot consistently vote for both together when he only believes in one, because he would thus affirm what he did not believe. We are therefore bound to suppose that those who voted for the report (as amended) meant to approve both of its declaration and its proposal, for by so voting they logically said so.

The proposal to submit was a matter of expediency, into which various considerations might enter; the decision of law was a matter of principle on which no man had a right to pronounce judgment contrary to his opinion. To my thinking this is a very plain matter.

The remainder of Dr. Warren's comments seem to be merely traveling again over the same ground with his original article, and therefore need not be noticed here. G. G. Reynolds.

FOREKNOWLEDGE AND CONTINGENCY.

A writer in this department says: "If God foreknows an event he must foreknow it as coming to pass. Otherwise he would foreknow an event which might not come to pass, which is an absurdity. If the element of contingency entered into the question, to him it would prevent foreknowledge. What is contingent to the human mind is not necessarily contingent to the divine mind. Contingency is not an attribute of the future events, but of our finite qualities."

There is the slip in such logic. God cannot foreknow an event, as such, which has not come to pass and which is, therefore, not an event. If it has not come to pass it is only a possibility, and only as such can God foreknow it. In every condition there may be numberless possibilities; and God knows them as such. To say that he knows a possibility as an actuality is utter absurdity. He cannot foreknow contingencies as fixed facts. If so, who fixed them? Evidently, not the unborn agent. Infinite foreknowledge must be eternal. If they are fixed from eternity God must have done the fixing himself. But if they are fixed facts they cannot be known as contingencies. If he foreknows all contingencies as fixed, then they are fixed, else his own knowledge is deceptive and false. But if they are fixed, they are not contingent. The statement that "what is contingent in the human mind is not necessarily contingent to the divine mind" has a sound of reason, but the reality is lacking. If it is "contingent to the human mind" and God has correct knowledge of it he must know the plain fact as such, namely, that it is a human contingency. Then he cannot know it as a fact, either human or divine. A human contingency cannot be a divine fact. This logical stumble is not a divine absurdity, but a psychological puzzle. Why the human mind will keep on making such mistakes is as incomprehensible as foreknowledge.

The nonexistence of a fact will always prevent the divine mind from knowing it as a fact. To affirm the "absolute foreknowledge" of all things, as things, which are not things, as a basis of biblical inspiration is an inexplicable freak of human nonreason. When a man of boundless wealth determines to construct a railroad in a farming section he can work his way through human motives and contingencies to success. Yet he may not have foreknowledge of a single stroke of ax or pick or of how many ounces there will be in any shovelful of earth. Much more, when God has determined to accomplish great things in the race he has done it, but not by foreknowledge. His declaration beforehand that he would so work was prophecy, and the fulfillment came through his infinitely productive will and the limitless resources of his character and the universe.

Wilkesbarre, Pa. J. WALLACE WEBB.

MATTER—ORGANIC AND INORGANIC.

THE "Arena" of the September–October number, 1894, of the *Review* contains an important paper on the relation of chemistry to the theory—the basic element of evolution—that life originates in matter. The writer, William Heap Butler, justly charges that biologists, in attempting to settle the question of the origin of life, have left their own proper field of inquiry and invaded the province of chemistry. He makes his charge good, and no more need be said on that topic. But in his criticisms of Weismann we are not sure that we perceive correctly the ground Mr. Butler himself occupies in regard to the distinction between organic and inorganic matter. We will not attempt to characterize opinions we are not sure that we understand, but submit a few thoughts of our own on the same topic.

In speaking or writing as scientists it is highly improper ever to use

the expressions "dead," "live," or "living" matter. There is no such matter. As vitalists—believers that in the beginning God gave existence to a vital, as well as to a material, world—we hold that matter is substance, and that life also is substance, but of a wholly different kind and order. Some kinds of matter and myriad kinds or forms of life are so related to each other that the organic world, human, animal, and vegetable, is the result. Each kind of matter—each entity—is matter, simple and pure. Life is as foreign from the essence or nature of matter as any one thing can be from another. Hence it is improper to speak of anything as "dead" unless it was once alive and has died or been killed. We never refer to ideas as red, white, or blue, for they do not belong to the realm of color; and as matter forms no part of the vital world it should never be referred to as either dead or alive. In man and in all bodies which any form or kind of life has built—an oak, an eagle, a lion—the matter of these structures, carbon, oxygen, calcium, etc., is associated with life as material used in the organism; and death is but the separation of this matter from its life, the organizing agent. The tangible substance of the body is matter and nothing else; the initiating, working agent which built it into an organism forms a part of a vital world. We surrender ourselves to materialism whenever we admit the existence of any kind or form of "live" matter.

As it is universally conceded by scientists that matter is unchangeable, it follows that the matter of the human body and of all other organic structures is, *per se*, now exactly what it has ever been. Iron taken from blood of which it forms a part does not differ from iron taken from a mine or from an aerolite. The carbon of the brain is no better nor worse than the carbon of charcoal. The matter of a nerve is exactly what it was before it was appropriated and wrought into a nerve by some kind of life, and it is, *per se*, as incapable of sensation as a stone. All sensations are vital phenomena. The matter of a human body, even after the dust has returned to dust, is as fully alive as ever it was. The matter of an organism is simply the matter of chemistry. Its properties and forces are all material; and we have no reason to believe that it contains any forces which either the chemist or nature's laboratory is unable to develop.

There is, then, *per se*, no difference between organic and inorganic matter. Mark the difference between the newborn babe weighing nine pounds and a lump of dirt weighing nine pounds. Why the difference? We answer: a human kind of life has wrought the matter of the one mass into a human body and animates it; the other mass life has not thus appropriated. The one mass has been elevated to associations with the vital world; the other has not. The one mass is matter organized by a vital agent; the other is the same sort of matter subject only to the action of its own forces. We are tenacious of these views, not only because we think they must be true, but because they compel materialists and evolutionists incessantly to realize that their philosophy has nothing to deal with in accounting for the existence of man as a living, thinking being, but the mechanism of atoms, molecules, and lumps.

Chautauqua, N. Y. H. H. Moore.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

EXEGETICAL—ROM. IX, 3.

"For I could wish that I myself were anathema from Christ for my brethren's sake." The environments of words are as important to their interpretation as are those of a person to the comprehension of his character. This passage is to be understood best by understanding its setting and then by studying its language. The argument of the previous part of this epistle was calculated to awaken the hostility of the Jews, because it appeared to assail their theocratic position as the "chosen people" and to subvert the traditions which they held sacred. Paul, in this view, was an apostate, and not entitled to any favor at their hands. In this chapter he proposes to discuss more particularly God's relation to this "royal nation," and begins by declaring his loyalty to his race. The almost passionate fervor of his expressions shows how deeply he was stirred by their false accusations. He states his love for them both affirmatively and negatively, and in a burst of intense zeal exclaims, "I could wish that I myself were anathema from Christ."

We will notice the latter clause of this sentence first. There are two Greek words almost identical in form, *ἀνάθημα* and *ἀνάθεμα*. Originally they were mere dialectic variations, but in time the former was employed for an offering "consecrated to God," and the latter for something "devoted to destruction." In this sense it is said of Jericho (Josh. vi, 17), "And the city shall be accursed, even it, and all that are therein, to the Lord." In Lev. xxvii, 28, 29, it is said: "Every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be ransomed," the word "devoted" being the rendering of the Hebrew word. According to Meyer the word means a votive offering, "something devoted to God without redemption." There is no necessary element of eternal perdition in Rom. ix, 3, but rather that Paul himself would be the sacrifice if thereby Israel might be saved. Nor does it include his desire to go back to his old state of guilt and separation from God, but that he would accept the punishment in their stead. He would imitate his Master, who gave himself, the "just for the unjust." As the word *ἀνάθεμα* is not explained we must be careful in giving too concrete a meaning. One thing is clear, the apostle was ready to make the greatest possible sacrifice for the nation which he loved, but which had cast him off. Shedd says: "When, therefore, St. Paul 'could wish' that he was 'accursed from Christ,' he does not mean that he would be willing, if thereby he could save others from sin and hell, to live himself forever in sin and hell, in rebellion against God. His willingness is like that of his Redeemer—a willingness to endure suffering, but not to commit sin or to be personally sinful."

We now inquire, Was this an actual wish—"I did wish," or, "I could

wish *if it were possible*"—or was it a wish that merely arose in the apostle's mind but did not assume actual form? Winer's *Grammar* illustrates *ηὐχόμην* by *ἐβουλόμην* in Acts xxv, 22. In reply to Festus, who had reported Paul's case to Agrippa, the latter said, "I also could wish to hear the man myself" (Revised Version). Winer remarks, "Here the speaker does not refer to a wish that was previously excited at the same time with some other action, but to a wish now felt; the wish, however, is not expressed directly, *volo*, or by the far weaker, *ἐβουλόμην ἄν*, *velim*, 'I might wish,' but definitely, 'I wished, that is, if the thing were possible, if you would permit it, and therefore I do wish it on this supposition.'" Meyer renders this passage, "I would wish it if the purport of the wish could be realized to the advantage of the Israelites." Hofman renders it, "The wish had entered his mind though but *momentarily*." Another rendering, in harmony with a recognized usage of the Greek imperfect, is, "I was on the point of wishing, the wish arose in my heart that I would submit to be a curse from Christ." A similar use of the imperfect is found in Luke i, 59, "And they called him Zacharias, after the name of his father" (King James's Version). The late revision translates it, "And they would have called him Zacharias after the name of his father." The meaning evidently is that the friends proposed to call him Zacharias, but the angel of the Lord had declared that he should be called John. Again, when Jesus came to John to be baptized it is said, "John forbade him," that is, in Greek, "John attempted to hinder him." A similar use of the imperfect is found in Mark xv, 23, "And *they gave* him to drink wine mingled with myrrh," which the late revision translates, "And they *offered* him wine mingled with myrrh." They attempted to give it to our Saviour, but he refused it. These are all imperfect tenses, used of incipient or attempted action, which was not consummated. They furnish the principle which will explain the text.

In the deep anguish of his soul the wish arose in Paul's mind, a wish of astonishing grandeur, that he would himself ransom his people, but it never reached the full expression of that wish. His soul, all on fire for Israel, was stirred to the most extreme sacrifice, which, however, was soon set aside by his own devotion to them in his life.

It is the language of strong emotion, which cannot be adequately expressed in the ordinary forms of expression. Old Bengel, on this passage, profoundly remarks, "Human words cannot express fully the emotions of holy souls, nor are these emotions always the same, nor can those souls always draw from themselves such a prayer as this. A soul not far advanced cannot comprehend this. It is not easy to estimate the measure of love in a Moses or a Paul, for our limited reason does not grasp it, as the child cannot comprehend the courage of warriors."

MINISTERIAL RESTS.

The Church of England has places which are called retreats, where the clergy at certain periods go in order to separate themselves from the world

and to commune with God. They are conducted by some clergyman of scholarship and ability as well as piety, and such exercises are engaged in as may be most helpful to their spiritual life and to their active ministry. They have also been adopted by the Episcopal Church in the United States, and those who participate in them regard them as very useful.

There are dangers undoubtedly growing out of gatherings of this kind, but these are more than balanced by the advantages which accrue. Neither asceticism nor monasticism constitutes a present danger of the Church or of the ministry. On the other hand, there is great need of solitary communing with God and of the help which comes from a period of separation from the cares and the allurements of the world. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate;" and again, the words of Christ, "Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place, and rest a while" may not be obeyed by such separation in the exact sense set forth by the sacred writer, but it is in harmony with the spirit and the teachings of the New Testament.

It is worthy of careful consideration, whether the gathering together of ministers and people in crowds and amid many excitements during the summer months is helpful to the spiritual life. The Itinerants' Club has at different times set forth the value of these summer gatherings as inclusive of rest by change of work and also a high degree of intellectual, and at times of spiritual, stimulus. The tendency to social dissipation, however, needs guarding. In one sense there is a time for everything, at least there is a time for everything that is right and proper to be done, and this is one of the things that is eminently proper. On the other hand, we cannot fail to note the nervous pressure under which ministers are constantly laboring and from which they sometimes need relief.

The plan indicated by the caption of this article, of "rests," into which ministers may go for a season to pray and to contemplate sacred things is worthy of consideration. These retreats should not be places of absolute rest in the sense of abstaining from all intellectual activity, but in which, without special effort, advances may be made in the spiritual life, especially in the quiet study of the word of God. The reading of the Greek Testament, for example, in the way of simple yet scholarly exposition with a view to the promotion of the spiritual life, and amid the environments of prayer and praise, cannot but be helpful to many persons. Dr. Vaughan, of England, was accustomed from time to time to meet a number of the younger clergy in such a gathering and expound for them some portion of the word of God. A commentary by Rev. W. Kay, D.D., on the Corinthians, had its origin in this way, the preface declaring: "In July, 1879, a number of clergy living in the neighborhood of Chelseford agreed to study the New Testament together under the presidency of Dr. Kay. For this office his eminent scholarship, together with his long habit of lecturing, peculiarly fitted him." This was not exactly such a retreat as is implied in the caption of this paper; but retreats of this kind, where in the quietness of spiritual communion, apart from the world, God's servants may grow in grace through the study of his word, may be promotive of much spiritual and intellectual profit.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

WOMAN IN ANTIQUITY.

That the "new woman" is the product of modern civilization becomes clear by a comparative study of ancient history with that of our times. The pages of antiquity on the whole show clearly that woman was almost universally regarded as an inferior being, holding a much lower rank than her lord and master, and having little or no voice in public affairs or political life. Nay, more, her position in the home, where no one of our readers, it is hoped, will deny her the right to rule as a queen, was in most cases but little better than that of a slave, condemned not only to incessant toil and drudgery, but also subjected to the caprices and whims of her husband.

The regard in which she was formerly held by non-Christian nations may be fairly illustrated by a quotation from Luther, who says: "Among the heathen there was a saying, '*Tria mala, mala pessima, ignis, aqua, femina*'—that is, there can be nothing worse than what these three can do, to wit, fire, water, and woman." The Greeks, with all their culture and their devotion to philosophy and art, were noted for the contempt in which they held the housewife, and many are the despicable flings at woman which are found in their writings. How heartless appear the words of Hipponax, "A woman gives two days' happiness to man in her bridal and in her burial." Or this corresponding sentiment from one of their poets, "Where women are, all evils there are found." Or the following extract from Euripides:

> But folly does not find its home with men,
> But roots in women's hearts.

The above, it is true, may not fairly represent the universal thought of Grecians; nevertheless, it shows the prevalence of such a sentiment, though we find it in the satires of comic poets. But what are we to say of the views held by Socrates, "the divinest of the Greeks," who is often held up as a model of wisdom and piety for all times? His views, according to Professor Gildersleeve, a most competent authority, are substantially contained in the following words: "We have . . . wives for the sake of legitimate children, and of having faithful guardians of our households." The last part of this sentence explains the apparent better lot of woman in Sparta, where she enjoyed greater liberties than her Athenian sister, simply that her offspring might be more vigorous and thus more efficient in time of war. Woman in Greece was denied intellectual association with the other sex, even with her husband. For in Athens, as in some Christian lands in our day, to borrow a phrase from George Sand, the lord of creation "came home to eat and to snore." The Greeks took it for granted that woman was naturally inferior—indeed, that she was "a minor with

regard to civic rights." Her duties and achievements, says an eminent authority, were hardly considered in a much higher light than those of a faithful slave.

If we look from Greece to ancient Chaldea and Babylonia, the status of woman, as we see from many a clay tablet, was anything but enviable; and yet her condition must have been far more tolerable than that of her sister in cultured Athens centuries later. Indeed, there can be no doubt that woman's lot deteriorated, as time rolled on, not only in Greece, but also in countries farther east. Guhl and Koner, speaking of woman's social position in Greece, say, "In prehistoric times the position of woman seems to have been upon the whole a more dignified one." Both Hommel and Pinches, eminent Assyriologists, say that the same is true of Chaldea; for, according to them, the wife in the very early periods of Chaldean history not only occupied an equal place with her husband, but was even his superior in power. Maspero also favors this view, and attributes the change to the advance of Semitic ideas. Thus, later in the history of Babylonia, the husband became the head of the family, exercising absolute rule, not only over his wife, but over his children, both male and female. Even the son could not marry without the consent of the father. Indeed, no marriage was regarded as valid until the father had "affixed his seal or made his nail-mark on the contract tablet." If such power was then exerted over a son, how much more over a daughter!

The marriage contracts of Babylonia, of which great numbers have been found, are very interesting, since they show that a woman, notwithstanding her inferiority, still had many rights. On the consummation of a marriage a dower contract was drawn up, and three copies of the same were made, one being given to the bridegroom, another to the bride, while a third was deposited with the local authorities. Specimens of such contracts in three copies have been placed in the British Museum and the Louvre. The items of dowry which are mentioned consisted of real estate, such as houses, fields, and orchards, as well as of silver, gold, and slaves. The wife was allowed to retain full control of whatever property she brought with her as dowry. She might dispose of it while living, and she might bequeath it by will at her death. Peiser cites cases where wives sued for the restoration of property which had been given away by their husbands without their consent, and proved that women were empowered to deal with their own property in every respect like an ordinary male proprietor.

Divorce in Babylon, as among the Jews, was granted to the husband on the most trifling pretense. Sterility was always a sufficient reason; for, according to popular belief, a woman incapable of maternity was regarded as under the immediate curse of the gods, possessed of a devil, and a source of great danger in any family. Even miscarriage was "thought to be occasioned by evil spirits." In cases of divorce, however, when the wife was not put to death, her original dowry was restored to her, and, besides, the husband was sometimes compelled to pay damages for the insult offered his wife. Indeed, some of the tablets which have been discovered are

legal documents wherein the second husband of a divorced wife sues the first husband for such damages. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient Babylonian woman enjoyed more privileges than do the Mohammedan women occupying the same territory in modern times. Her condition was perhaps not much inferior to that of the Hebrew woman under the Mosaic dispensation.

The Hebrew women, as we learn from the Old Testament, seem to have mingled freely, if not with strangers yet with acquaintances and with all the members of their family. Woman at creation was made the equal of man, for that is the meaning of the phrase, "a helpmeet for him," or, more literally, "help answering to him." How significant the words, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife." As Dr. Landsberg has observed, "The text does not say woman, the physically weaker one, shall cling to her husband; but man, the physically stronger one, shall cling to his wife, who in a high condition of humanity is morally and ethically his superior." No one can read the Old Testament without being impressed with the equal rights enjoyed by Sarah, Rebekah, Hannah, the woman of Shunem, and others. These were not mere slaves to their husbands. But it might be objected, with some truth, that these were the exceptions, and not fair representatives of the average Hebrew woman. Be that as it may, it still remains true that the Hebrew wife enjoyed great liberties, bordering in some regards even upon her position in modern times. For in this, as in other things, to use the words of Heine, "Judea has ever appeared to me like a piece of Occident lost in the midst of the Orient." Yet the emancipation of women is nowhere more clearly taught than in the words of the apostle Paul, "There is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

But to return to antiquity, it is evident that, of all ancient countries, no place respected woman more highly than Egypt. This becomes clear not merely from the study of the monuments, but of Greek authors as well. When Herodotus made a tour of many countries he was amazed, if not disgusted, at the way the Egyptians treated their women. He writes, doubtless, in a half humorous way, the following: "The Egyptians have adopted customs and usages in almost every respect different from the rest of mankind." Then, after enumerating many distinctive features, he concludes as follows: "Among the Egyptians the women attend markets and do the trading, while the men stay at home and weave or spin." Granting that this is humor, and an exaggerated account, it is still very valuable as showing the impression produced upon the mind of the Greek historian. The condition of the Egyptian wife was so unique, compared with that of women in the rest of the world, as to fairly shock the father of history. Had we nothing but these words of Herodotus on which to depend we might be inclined to be skeptical. We have, however, the more sure testimony of the monuments, which furnish incontrovertible proof of the esteem in which the women of Egypt were held, the power and influence which they wielded, and the many privileges and rights enjoyed by

them. The mural decorations, the hieroglyphs on tombs and coffins, the many papyri discovered, show conclusively that woman, if not altogether the equal of the man, occupied a very high position. It seems that the Egyptian woman of ancient times, contrasted with her sister in other lands, was what the woman of the English-speaking world in our day is to the rest of mankind. According to the monuments family life in ancient Egypt was almost ideal; it was of great simplicity and affection. We are, therefore, not surprised to find that marriage is praised and glorified. "Wise is he," says Ptahhotep, "who founds a home for himself and loves a wife." And again, "If thou takest a wife, let her be more contented than any of her fellow-beings." The Egyptians, in common with all the other oriental nations, regarded children as the choicest gift of Heaven. Filial devotion, and especially affection for the mother, was a virtue that they especially emphasized. The following sentiment from the great philosopher 'Eney, which is quoted by Erman, confirms this point: "Thou shalt never forget what thy mother has done for thee; she bare thee and nourished thee in all manner of ways. If thou forgettest her, she might blame thee, she might lift up her arms to God, and he would hear her complaint." The affection existing between husband and wife, parent and child, being such, and the intimate social and intellectual association between the several members of the family being so tender, the difference between the Egyptian and Grecian woman will be easily understood by the reader.

In Egypt, as in Babylonia, only to a much wider extent, the law allowed woman to transact all manner of business in her own name. She had the disposition of her own property, and could make contracts without the consent of her husband. Property passed very often, for some reason, through the name of the female, rather than that of the male heir. In deeds and contracts the father of the mother, rather than the paternal grandfather, is generally mentioned. So also we read of an officer who was promoted "for the sake of the father of his mother," and who, when he was starting out to war, left his property in charge of the "father of his mother."

The exalted position of woman is further shown by the fact that women at different periods in Egyptian history occupied the throne of the Pharaohs. The most distinguished of these queens or rulers was the celebrated Hatsheph-su, or Hatshepu, the sister and wife of Thotmes II, famous not only as a ruler but as the builder of the temple of Dêr el-Bahari. This great woman reigned alone for sixteen years, and then, conjointly with her brother Thotmes III, for several years more. She not only assumed the title of king, but clothed herself in male attire and led her armies to victory and glory.

So supreme, says Professor Mahaffy, in his *Greek Life and Thought*, was the position of woman in Egypt that we have instances of "a man settling all his property, present and prospective, on his wife, with this only condition on her part, that she will support him while he lives and give him a decent funeral and sepulture when he dies."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

STUDY OF MISSIONS IN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

Some time since attention was called in this department to the subject of missionary instruction in theological seminaries, or rather to the lack of it in most of these institutions. It is a subject which, we are pleased to believe, is not to pass without fuller discussion. The secretaries and other officers of the several foreign missionary societies of the United States and the Dominion of Canada have organized an annual meeting for the discussion of problems which especially concern them as administrators of great missionary interests. In January last they held their fourth annual conference in New York city. There were present officials of the Protestant Episcopal and Congregational Churches, the Methodist Episcopal Churches, North and South, the Baptists, North and South, five branches of the Presbyterians, two or more Reformed Churches, and several Canadian boards, representing altogether some twenty-three societies. They considered such important propositions as the "Discriminating Use of Funds in Maintaining a Growing Work," the "Increase of Efficiency of Missionary Officers at Home," and the "Relation of Boards, Missionaries, and Converts to Governments." It was a dignified and learned body of men, met to consider some of the most vital and pressing questions which confront the Christian Church. What they might say as a body could not fail to command attention, and it is not easy to select from among the important themes they discussed any which might be esteemed preeminent.

One, however, which lay outside the range of their official obligation was that of missionary instruction in theological seminaries. Rev. Dr. Mabie, Home Secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, as chairman of the committee to whom this subject was referred, presented a paper which formulated the judgment of those discreet men. No one can think of them as speaking perfunctorily because of their official position on a topic lying within the range of that other body of wise men who formulate the course of study for the theological institutions of the country. They did not speak in any dictatorial way, but as fellow-servants with these others of the Lord Jesus Christ. They set forth that, even under existing conditions, the very least which can be demanded is that every professor in these institutions shall be imbued with the spirit of missions. But this is not enough. No seminary of this class should be content without securing at least occasional lectures from returned missionaries, secretaries, or others vitally moved and intelligently informed on the great theme of missions. As an advance on this, or coordinate with it, they suggest that several institutions might combine in the support of one regular professor, or lecturer, who should be sustained by a joint endowment fund, and should at least give some systematic

presentation of missionary themes to the outgoing class. A still broader suggestion is that of a special graduate or undergraduate course, not provided for in the ordinary curriculum, with special reference to non-Christian religions and the philosophies underlying them, the methods of dealing with them, and the languages and literatures in which they express themselves.

All these, however, are expedients where the men and the money cannot be commanded for a full missionary professorship. The function of such a professor, they suggest, might be to present the Christian religion as essentially a world religion, the propagation of which is not an incident, but the most fundamental and vital obligation imposed by the very constitution of the Church, and hence impossible of being relegated to a class either in the ministry or laity, but inhering in the vital piety of every individual in the kingdom of God. This chair should also exhibit the missionary movements of the past, making a close analysis of the success and failure of methods, of climatic conditions, and of political, social, and other features, and pointing out the paths of approach to new work, and carefully presenting the economics in the development of a self-respecting, self-sustaining, self-governing, self-propagating Christian Church and industrial community.

The Conference suggests that where such a separate chair is impossible of realization the work should be assigned to some other professor; a suggestion which is open to several objections. Very few professors feel that they have either time or strength to master the details involved in such instruction; besides, those matters that are subordinate to their specialty are likely to suffer. But, whatever plan or plans may be adopted, the conviction of these reverend and wise brethren is deepening in the minds of the Church at large that in some way the ministry of the future must be far more instructed on the subject of missions and the problems allied therewith than is possible under existing conditions in many theological seminaries.

MISSIONARY PROBLEMS IN JAPAN.

There are sundry fundamental difficulties inherent in the local environment of the missionary force in the several non-Christian lands which affect all missions alike, though with varying force. No one of the great mission fields, perhaps, presents more peculiarities than Japan. There are obstructions to the progress of mission work in Bulgaria growing out of the spirit of nationalism or patriotism. The Bulgarian political movement for national independence carries with it the idea of a national Church, and hence provokes antagonism to any foreign mission movement as disintegrating. Even in China there are indications of the development of a like spirit of opposition to the introduction and advance of missionary enterprises. Since the late China-Japan war, the cry is raised, "China for China!" In Liberia progress is hindered by the constitutional provision that none but black men shall own land in the

republic. This restriction is based on the fear that foreign ownership would lead to foreign disputes, and they know they are not able to defend themselves against the claims of any of the larger nations.

Japan has also precluded foreign ownership of real estate outside the treaty ports, even mission property being held in the name of some Japanese, to whose honor be it said, they have generally dealt justly with their trust. But since 1890 all such substitutional holders of land have been persecuted as unpatriotic, and the parties have been placed under ban as disloyal. To obviate this, cases have been adjusted by erecting a board of trustees to hold such property. But extremists have pressed even these to the point of refusal to accept any restriction from the foreign missionary society contributing money for the erection of buildings and sustaining the institutions. In the case of the celebrated Doshisha College the board of trustees have even declined to give assurance that it shall be conducted in the interests of Christianity under so broad a definition as, belief in God, the divinity of Jesus Christ, and the future life. The trustees of the institution at Kumamoto have publicly announced that the school was no longer "Christian" in any sense. In both these cases the missionary society which had built up the school and erected missionary residences is absolutely without redress in the courts.

It is anticipated that this condition of affairs is to be changed materially under the new treaty, which is to take effect in the year 1900; but meanwhile titles to real estate seem to be in a very precarious state. Whether the fanatical and extreme view of what is necessary to patriotism will be modified under calmer judgment, now that the war, with its exciting challenge to the Christian Japanese, is ended, it is too early to know. But it is certainly assuring to have so careful a deputation as that of the American Board intimate that the nation has been disarmed of its suspicions against Christianity, while non-Christian leaders recognize the worth and power of the Christian character and honor true Christian living. If there has been loss of control of some property this deputation asks that it be borne in mind that Christian teachers have appointment in many government schools, with full liberty to teach Christianity out of school hours; that the missionary is free to go everywhere for evangelistic work, and that no censorship of the press prohibits the freest circulation of the Bible and religious literature all over the empire. Besides, they emphasize the fact that the process of the assimilation of Christianity by the Japanese must not be expected to take place without the development of some excrescences. "There is not a Japanese in the empire twenty-five years of age whose early years were under the influence of Christian thought and training." It is not so much a wonder that Japan has not yet formulated what it fancies it will be pleased to accept of Christianity as it is a satisfaction that, whether Japan realizes it or not, "Christianity has already put its stamp upon the laws of society, of the army, and of the State, and is making itself felt in its literature and forms of thought."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Wilhelm Kahl. The fair-mindedness of the Germans in reference to their theological opinions and their freedom from prejudice amount almost to laxity. The one who has no opinions or convictions can be very charitable toward the opinions or convictions of others. But Kahl has proved himself both fair and unjust at the same time. In an address delivered at the University of Bonn, Germany, January 27, 1895, he took up the question as to the origin and consequences of religious equality. It is really an historical address, and the substance of it may astonish some readers. He states that after a short period of equality between Christianity and heathenism came that of the sole supremacy of the former, lasting throughout the Middle Ages. During this period there was no thought that there could possibly be any tolerance of a false religion alongside of the true in the Christian world. So far well. But now he tells us that even in the time of the Reformation the traditional conception of the duty of the authorities with reference to the Church remained unchanged, and this he explains by two suggestions, the first of which, namely, that the Reformation entered into a world whose religious idea was that of an individual Christian society, we must affirm, but the second of which, namely, that religious equality and the Reformation have no inner connection, and that such parity was not a natural consequence of the Reformation, we must emphatically deny. Rightly does he say, indeed, that the religious peace of 1555 and the peace of Westphalia in 1648 only granted what could not be refused in this respect. But when he makes the mixed religious condition of the territorial states and the thought of natural right as taught in humanism the causes of the subsequent parity he fails of justice to Reformation. He asserts that the Reformation placed the freedom of the conscience at the front, and yet that it achieved nothing in the way of securing equality for all confessions. But as a matter of fact the apparent failure of the Reformation to secure and to grant equality was the result of causes which lay wholly beyond the control of the reformers. In a life and death struggle there is but little opportunity for tolerance of the enemy, and when freedom is suddenly attained it is almost always abused. If the Reformation was not to be wrecked by the very freedom it proclaimed it must set some bounds until those who had been set free could become accustomed to the new atmosphere. In some cases it was not alone for the purpose of saving men from complete religious apostasy that restrictions had to be placed, but also the Protestant secular authorities were obliged to interfere with the theologians and for themselves determine what the form of faith should be in order to preserve even the social well-being of the State. All these things prevented the true principles which dwelt in the Reformation from develop-

ing rapidly. A new principle may be properly defined and firmly held and yet meet with practical obstacles because of the unfitness of the people for its application. Such was the case with the principle of the freedom of conscience in the Reformation.

Emil Zweynert. Though not a university professor, Zweynert has done a work which will give him rank among the leaders for some time to come. The question of the relation of the Lutheran Reformation to the progress of culture has been hotly debated in recent times. Janssen, in his *History of the German People Subsequent to the Close of the Middle Ages*, claimed for Romanism the credit of the *Renaissance* and then affirmed that the "so-called" Reformation destroyed this flourishing intellectual life. Professor Paulsen, of Berlin, a Protestant, in his *History of Scholarly Instruction in German Schools and Universities from the Close of the Middle Ages to the Present Time*, published in 1885, agreed with this view. Zweynert has been incited by this to take up the question as to whether the decline of culture in the first half of the sixteenth century was causally connected with Luther's Reformation. The very form of the question admits the fact of such a decline while leaving undecided the nature of the cause. This, Zweynert affirms, could be answered in the affirmative only in case Luther had taken a position with regard to humanism which was positively unfriendly. He does not think that Luther was a product of humanism, although as a child of his age he was influenced by it. On the other hand, Luther diverged from humanism in that he looked at the sciences rather from the standpoint of their value for real life, and especially for the religious life, than from that of mere culture as an end in itself. Luther, he thinks, was convinced of the high value of education, and was not personally responsible for the evident decline in scholarly study in the sixteenth century. Nor was his Reformation responsible. Perhaps in this Zweynert has gone too far. For though there was nothing in the Reformation which of necessity would lead to such a decline, yet the fact that the decline and the progress of the Reformation were contemporaneous must be explained. It is not likely that it was accidental. No great movement, such as the Reformation, which mightily seizes upon the affections and arouses the sympathies of the people can fail to withdraw attention from other interests. Heated political campaigns deprive multitudes of the power to think of anything else important. A great revival robs men temporarily of their profound interest in business. It is impossible that the minds of men should have been so excited on the great religious questions which were being discussed and at the same time absorbed in the desire for education. Besides, there were prejudices against the science of the age because there was prejudice against the Church which had produced it. The new Church must learn to distinguish between the religion of the Middle Ages and the science of the Middle Ages. When the principles of the Reformation had had time to do their work they produced a much higher form of culture than ever was known to Roman Catholicism and with which

that belated organism has never been able to keep abreast. No one can regret that the Reformation aided in the decline of humanism, since it made way for a culture so much more rich, varied, and useful.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

La notion biblique du miracle (The Biblical Idea of Miracles). Paris, Fischbacher, 1894. By Professor Eugène Ménégoz. French Protestantism has been much excited recently by the question of miracles. The author undertakes to show from a considerable number of instances in the Old and New Testaments that all the biblical writers consider the miracle as a strictly supernatural event in contradiction to the ordinary course of events, and as a phenomenon which is in every case to be referred to God as its cause. The question which he then presents to himself is the one which confronts the Christian and unbelieving mind, namely, What are we to think, in view of the researches of science, of the credibility of miracles? After some effort is spent in wrenching the idea of the miraculous and in weakening and destroying its religious significance, he reaches the conclusion that no Protestant theologian can ever again accept the biblical miracles in their full compass and with all their consequences. Nevertheless, he thinks the miracle stories have a permanent value for us, though the relation of the stories was made possible by the historical conditions in which their relators lived. In order to this he undertakes a distinction between the knowledge gained by the methods known to natural science and that view of the world which comes into existence as the result of a divinely imparted assurance of an eternal loving purpose. In other words, the religious impression, amounting to a certainty, is not based upon the same laws which govern our knowledge in the natural world. He then proposes to show the relation which exists between the belief in miracles and the belief in divine providence. The miracle is thus supposed to have a certainty for the religious consciousness, but not for the scientific. To the author it is certain that God hears prayer, and this is in his judgment miraculous, although not a violation of natural laws. But this does seem to be a contradiction, unless by prayers he means only those requests which are in perfect accord with the laws of nature, and which they would inevitably work out even were there no prayer offered by men. Yet this is hardly prayer at all. But this is what he practically says when he declares that the Christian only asks in prayer what he knows to be in conformity to natural law. To say nothing of the fact that this is to obliterate the distinction between the two means of knowledge which he has established, in order to make room for faith in the miracles, it is a subterfuge to cover up the double sense in which he uses the word. The answering of prayer is miraculous. Miracle is contrary to nature. But the prayers which Christians offer and which God answers are all in conformity to natural law. These three conclusions of the author utterly contradict each other.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Recent Discussions of the Doctrine of Assurance. The very fact that the old conception of the Bible has been swept away from so many minds has brought the doctrine of assurance again to the front. Thousands who were not aware of it had rested their hope of salvation in some way upon the word of God, and the only knowledge of divine things which other millions possessed was that which they gleaned from the word of God. To vast numbers, perhaps undefinedly, yet really, the correspondence of the utterances of the Bible concerning providence and the way of salvation with their own experience furnished about the only Christian evidences they had. As the divine authority of the Bible is now questioned by so many, at least in certain of its parts, men are beginning to ask themselves what part the Bible has had or ought to have in their religious life. The Bible reveals the possibility of salvation; but are we to believe in this possibility because the Bible teaches it, or because we have experienced it, or both? It has been but a few years since Dr. Julius Köstlin, the great biographer of Luther, wrote a work entitled *Die Begründung unserer sittlich-religiösen Ueberzeugung* (The Foundation of our Ethical Religious Convictions). More recently Dr. Hermann Schultz has taken up the same questions under the title of *Christliche Apologetik* (Christian Apologetics). In 1895 Professor K. Hackenschmidt published a little book in answer to the question *Wie werden wir unsers Glaubens gewiss und froh?* (How May We Attain to the Certainty and Joy of Faith?) In other forms these problems are being discussed as almost never before outside of Methodism. The dread that with the old faith in the Bible might go the assurance of the truths of the great facts of our religion is not the only impelling motive for such works. They are incited by the desire to show the fearful that even without the doctrine of inspiration the facts which we all prize so highly are well supported. In all these books, then, there is the claim that the true evidence of Christianity is not subject to the assaults of criticism. For example, Schultz (pp. 108, 109) says: "A new principle of life becomes operative (the Holy Spirit), in which every member of the Church may personally participate. Thus the genuine Christian experiences the revelation personally, and he detects in the sacred literature the same Spirit which he himself experiences as a revealed divine life. Hence historic doubts may attack the external history of Jesus, but not the revelation of God in him; and they may assault the external form of the sacred Scriptures, but not their religious-ethical truth." Köstlin (p. 118) says: "Accordingly our faith in Christ is not founded on the faith in the higher character of the Scripture, but rather our faith in the Scripture is founded on our faith in Christ. The witness concerning Christ which we get from the Scripture increases in strength for us thereby, and we follow the more joyfully and trustfully the entire formulation of truth which we receive at the hands of the apostles." In like manner Hackenschmidt claims that the method by which we come to a knowledge of the truth of Christianity is not subject

to the flood of theological criticism. It is delightful to feel that the critics are finding a way by which to prove the verities in which we have so long believed. If we may not base our faith upon them simply because they are in the Bible we ought to be glad that there is another way by which we may attain as great certainty. But what is that way? To read of them one would almost imagine himself in a Methodist class meeting. Schultz says we experience the revelation. We know for ourselves. We cannot question the truth of the Bible, because we have tested its precepts and its promises and found them true. So Köstlin puts the whole burden upon our religious experience. Hackenschmidt declares that when under the influence of the Holy Ghost and through the impression Jesus makes upon us we attain to the conviction that Jesus is really what he claims to be, the Son of God, the Saviour, the King of the kingdom of heaven, then we become assured as to our Christian faith. Furthermore this experience is one to which any person may attain without regard to education or race, for all it requires is a disposition which is not beyond the possibility of a little child. And through this he thinks that the Bible becomes assuredly the document of our sonship. It is doubtless not expedient that as Methodists we should boast. But we cannot but indulge the reflection that if the theologians who have so despised Methodist theology had listened to the voice of the great theologian, John Wesley, a hundred and fifty years ago, the world might have been spared much of the strife which it has witnessed on these very points. For, as anyone may know who will take the pains to look it up, the essence of what these modern scholars are saying is the essence also of what John Wesley taught concerning Scripture evidence. But because he stated it in a couple of pages instead of expanding it into a great book, as the modern scholar does, and because he made it a practical affair instead of a matter of theory, the world looked on and cried "fanaticism." In one form or another almost all the greatest theologians of the world teach Methodist doctrine on this subject. That they are obliged to find some other support for the faith the Bible contains, on account of their rejection of the traditional view of its inspiration, does not invalidate their teachings. May the time soon come when in view of the mighty truths so well attested the zeal of the theologian in diffusing these blessings of experience shall rise to fever heat!

Seventh General Conference of the German Society for the Advancement of Morality. The meeting was held in September, in Essen. The income of the society was 28,810 marks. New branches had been organized in Erfurt and Strasburg. A strong resolution was adopted against any and every proposition looking toward the legalization or police protection of impurity. The society recognizes the danger to good morals arising from the improper crowding of dwelling houses, and is taking measures to afford relief. Greater efforts are also to be made in the direction of more general use of tracts among the youth of both sexes, and among parents, and it was also determined to push more energetically the midnight mission work, or what is known in America as rescue work.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE Venezuela boundary question is at the front. Conspicuous among recent articles on the subject is "The Issue Between Great Britain and America," by Henry M. Stanley, in the *Nineteenth Century* for January. The paper incidentally shows how un-Americanized this sometime popular American correspondent has become. Speaking from the standpoint of an intense Englishman, he declares that on a recent tour through America he found the people of the United States "working themselves into an extremely angry temper" over the boundary question. In other gracious phrases he writes of the "frequent ebullitions of the American temper;" of the "stupendous arrogance" and "audacious wickedness" of resisting the pretensions of Great Britain in Venezuela; and of the "crime of crimes" which the United States will commit in the "firing of a single shot." The possession by England of the disputed territory for fifty-five years is reason why, in Mr. Stanley's judgment, she should not be molested. In the interests of peace, however, he suggests a European commission to examine into the claims of England and report to her foreign office. "If our government," says he, "requested Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium to appoint their respective commissioners for the purpose just specified, I feel sure that the entire British race, from these islands to the antipodes, would be unanimous for the defense of British dignity, honor, and rights, if we were discovered not to be willful aggressors on the territory of our neighbor. If, on the other hand, we have unknowingly overstepped our just frontier, it will be found that we are willing and ready to do that which is right." In spirit this proposition is the most equitable in Mr. Stanley's serious arraignment of his former countrymen.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for January has: 1. "The Reign of the Queen;" 2. "Italian Influence on English Poetry;" 3. "Marshal Canrobert;" 4. "Finland;" 5. "The Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge;" 6. "War Correspondents;" 7. "Painters and Critics—French and English;" 8. "Army Organization;" 9. "The Princes of the House of Condé;" 10. "Political and Commercial Affairs in Asia;" 11. "Henry Reeve." The first paper is an attractive review of the unparalleled "moral and material progress" which has taken place during the reign of Victoria, who next autumn "will have reigned for a longer period than any monarch who has ever occupied" the English throne. The fifth paper reviews the compilation of Coleridge's letters, extending from 1785, when he was "a schoolboy at Christ's Hospital, thirteen years of age, to July, 1834, when he was a confirmed invalid, and, indeed, was within a few days of his death." Coleridge, "more than most men, poured out oftentimes his whole heart in a letter;" and that heart the reviewer now discovers.

The sixth article notices the war memories of William Howard Russell, LL.D., and Archibald Forbes. The tenth paper concludes with the judgment that there is every reason "why Great Britain and Russia should endeavor to act in accord in solving the problems of the further East."

THE opening article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, by the Rev. W. L. Ferguson, of India, considers "The Fourth Gospel after a Century of Criticism." His paper is a scholarly and vigorous testimony to the Johannine authorship of the book in question. Other articles are "William Wordsworth," by T. W. Hunt, Ph.D.; "The Hebrew Cosmogony," by C. B. Warring, Ph.D.; "Christianity and the Evolution of Rational Life," by J. T. Gulick, Ph.D.; "Abraham at Bonn," by O. H. Gates, Ph.D.; "The Gospel of Paul," by F. H. Foster, D.D.; and "An Appeal from a Verdict of History," by W. E. Barton, D.D., which aims to show that the penitent thief on the cross was not a "vicious criminal," but a more or less "worthy man" condemned by an unjust tribunal. Following this there are: "Greek Elements in Modern Religious Thought," by E. S. Carr; "Classification of Social Phenomena," by Arthur Fairbanks, Ph.D.; "A Point of View," by E. W. Bemis, Ph.D.; and "Monopoly by Patents," by Z. S. Holbrook.

THE *Lutheran Quarterly* for January contains: 1. "The Christian Pulpit," by W. M. Baum, D.D.; 2. "Millennialism," by Rev. J. F. Pollock; 3. "Apperceptive Christianity," by Professor M. H. Richards, D.D.; 4. "The Washing of Regeneration," by G. U. Wenner, D.D.; 5. "God Immanent, and the Incarnate Word," by Professor W. H. Wynn, D.D.; 6. "Washington—Christianity the Molding Power of his Character," by F. W. Conrad, D.D., LL.D.; 7. "Harnack on the Apostles' Creed," by Rev. G. W. Fritsch; 8. "Sabbath Day or Sunday, Which?" by M. G. Boyer, D.D.

THE successive articles in the *London Quarterly* for January are as follows: 1. "Europe in Africa;" 2. "The Gurneys of Earlham;" 3. "The New Rationalism;" 4. "A New Commentary on the 'Romans;'" 5. "The State Papers Relating to the Armada;" 6. "The Command of the Sea;" 7. "The Alps from End to End." The first paper holds that the partition of Africa—whose map only fifty years ago was left by the cartographers "a comparative blank"—is now "practically an accomplished fact." Its aim is to take a survey of the possessions secured by each power. The third article reviews Dr. R. F. Horton's eighteen sermons, wherein he in turn reviews Wendt and Beyschlag, and points out the merits and defects of his work. The sixth article notices some recent books on the sea by Captain A. T. Mahan, Spenser Wilkinson, and Admiral P. H. Colomb. The last article of the *Quarterly* is fascinating for those who are not made dizzy by mountain climbing.

THE *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* for January has: 1. "Personal Liberty from Spiritual and Spirituous Standpoints," by Rev. W. F. Crafts, Ph.D.; 2. "The Three H's in Education," by President W. M. Beardshear, LL.D.; 3. "The Scientific Study of Children," by Professor H. U. Roop, Ph.D.; 4. "Why I am a United Brethren [*sic*] in Christ," by G. M. Matthews, D.D.; 5. "The Message and Mission of Judaism," by Rabbi Max Wertheimer, Ph.D.; 6. "Outlines of a Study of Sociology," by Bishop J. S. Mills, D.D.; 7. "The Position of Kant in the History of Philosophy," by Rev. G. K. Irie, Ph.D.

THE opening paper in *Christian Literature* for January, by Hon. Boyd Winchester, LL.D., discusses "Greek and German Philosophy," and concludes with the statement that, "to a plain, sober-minded people like ourselves, much of the German philosophy appears as blasphemous as it is the fantastic creation of the brain." This is followed by: "Bishop Butler and his Censors. II," by W. E. Gladstone; "Rigidity of Rome. II," by Wilfrid Ward; "Professor Sayce and the Critics," by S. R. Driver; "The Meaning of Christ's Prayer in Gethsemane," by Thomas West, and by other important papers.

THE *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January has: "The Beginning and Growth of the Canon of the New Testament," by Dunlop Moore, D.D.; "Some Recent Phases of Christian Apologetics," by Professor A. H. Huizinga; "Naturalism," by President D. W. Fisher, LL.D.; "The Beginning of the American Presbyterian Church," by Rev. J. A. Davis; "The Place of Reason in Theology," by Professor H. C. Minton, D.D.; and "The Holiness Code and Ezekiel," by Professor L. B. Paton, Ph.D. ——The *Missionary Review* for February gives prominence to the interests of China.——The January *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* gives a picture of William Stoughton, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts 1692–1701, and a sketch of his life. On June 2, 1692, he was appointed "Chief Justice of a special tribunal to try the witchcraft cases." Judge Emory Washburn charges that he "sacrificed all the better feelings of his nature and prostituted the forms of justice to consummate a series of judicial murders that have no parallel in our history." Yet he still retained his popularity, won general approval as acting chief executive of the colony, and "died highly honored and respected."——Besides other articles of great variety the *North American* for January and February has two articles of a series by Mr. Gladstone on "The Future Life and the Condition of Man Therein."——In the *New Church Review* for January are, among other articles, "The Christian Ideal in Youth," by John Worcester; "Christian Science," by A. F. Frost; and a generally commendatory notice of Dr. G. A. Gordon's *The Christ of To-day*, by J. K. Smyth.——The *Chautauquan* for February, besides all other attractions, has illustrated articles on "Footprints of Washington," by H. H. Ragan, and "How Will the Czar Wear his Crown?" by T. B. Preston.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Creation: God in Time and Space. By RANDOLPH S. FOSTER, D.D., LL.D. A Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 8vo, pp. 365. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $3.

Without exaggeration a sublime book, a tremendous book! Great thoughts by a great thinker on greatest themes; a triune greatness which rarely lifts its solid grandeur in the field of literature, or like a three-faced prism explicates the white sunlight of truth into its elements and spreads them out in ordered, broad, and many colored splendor. From the long-ago publication of Bishop Foster's book on Christian Purity, until now, no volume so wonderful has come from his pen. This from the Preface we adopt as our own: "We solicit ministers especially to the reading of these pages. The benefits to be derived are various. It will take them out of their accustomed ruts into new departments of knowledge and thought. It will supply them with the richest illustrations of the great themes which they are to elucidate and unfold. It will impart zest and variety to their ministrations. It will broaden their view of the divine method and operations. It will put them in possession of the highest proofs of the infinite greatness of the Almighty Being whose servants they are. It will enable them to meet the demands of the hungry and often distracted people to whom they preach, and will save them from the crudities into which all must fall who are uninformed on points which more and more engage educated thought. The knowledge of the great facts of being which scientific research is developing is indispensable to one who would hold the attention of the age and command its respect." The preacher must show himself acquainted with the facts of the universe, and not teach doctrines which collide with facts. He must be able to satisfy himself and his people that although some long-regnant ideas may have to be abandoned, the citadel of theological belief remains intact. "The strength of any system is the truth it holds; its weakness is the errors which infest it. . . . If it has some errors of incidents and minor points they may be relinquished without harm, and its power thereby be increased. If its errors are shown to be not inherent, but the accidents of misinterpretation merely, it is made stronger by the exposure if its expounders and defenders show themselves pleased with the discovery and glad to amend the mistake. Nothing can save a system which shrinks from investigation, or attempts to build itself on ignorance, or the impudent denial of facts, or refusal to know them, or inability to show that it does not contradict them. In the interest of theology we plead for the freest and largest liberty. We hail every new discovery. Every new truth, no difference what old error or system of error it may shake down and utterly destroy, is a harbinger of the millennium." As to the

cosmos being a creation by a personal cause, Bishop Foster says that now "there is no respectable thinker who any more doubts the presence and operation of personal agency in the universe." One of his introductory paragraphs says: "The present discussion is partly scientific, partly philosophico-theological. It undertakes to present, from known scientific data and principles of philosophy, a view of the world-plan, or methods and purposes of the infinite in creation, deduced from grounds largely outside of revelation. The object is . . . to present a rational view of the divine movement from the inception to the outcome of his work by a study of the works themselves. Occasional biblical facts will emerge, and it is believed the result of the inquiry will show that a rational theory will be in substantial accord with the word God has given, properly interpreted." The amount of cerebral phosphorus consumed in making this blazing book would almost turn a midnight ocean into a sea of fire. The nebula in Orion is not more dense with crowded light-centers than is this radiant volume with its aggregation of shining facts, making to the mind an immeasurable but ordered splendor. In its chapters one sees the stupendous magnitude of the universe; sees also that the human intellect is a giant able to pick up worlds as playthings and spin them on its finger tip, or bowl them as arguments along the course of its reasoning; one hears them roll and rumble from Preface to conclusion of this large, long book. Every manly man detests reading after a timid, careless, trembling, or fumbling mind, and likes a fearless, frank, lucid, and thorough-going thinker. Reading the book before us one wonders if there is anywhere a mind more maturely broad-visioned or more youthfully brilliant, intrepid, and enterprising; if anywhere among scholars there is greater avidity in pursuit of knowledge, or enthusiasm in its acquisition, or more patient plodding after exhaustive information, or more careful, sober reasoning on facts, or mind more expert in constructive and systematizing thinking; if any explorer of high plateaus or hardy climber of defiant peaks with steadier head or surer foot, than one sees at work in these pages. Let any who are afraid of science and dread or decry philosophy read Bishop Foster and recover from phobias, panics, and antipathies. Through regions scientific and philosophic his argument treads its ascending course, grand and stately, robed with infinite dignities, crowned with eternal glories. Deep and high go his thoughts, to the bottom and to the top of their vast subject, wide-ranging to the farthest frontiers of ascertainable fact, whence are seen auroral flashings of truth to faith from beyond the horizon of demonstrated knowledge. Such a book powerfully expands, strengthens, and establishes the mind. Always the large view tranquilizes, pacifies, and steadies. It is the narrow view that is unsteady, tippy, and in danger of upsetting; that makes for nervousness, impatience, bigotry, irritability, suspicion, and a precarious faith afraid for its life. Faith, snagged on details, is floated free by generals and universals inflowing like ocean tides. Nothing is so mighty to save as an elemental lift; as when the measureless east wind blowing under the whole heaven rolls the sea shoreward in heaps, and with

gentle omnipotence buoys the stranded *St. Paul* off the Long Branch sands. The reader reaching the end of this book has been carried so far, as in a sky-mounting chariot, that he wonders he ever lived to get back. He sympathizes with the feeling Amanda Smith, the colored evangelist, expressed after hearing Bishop Foster preach: "It makes me dizzy, but I'm glad I've got such a mighty Father." The height of the author's great argument is calculated to fill one with adoring wonder and solemn ecstasy; its intellectual climaxes and final spiritual culmination may easily excite a rapture fit to die in, and mount a disembodied spirit to "the palace of angels and God." Down from such heights a man might come with some such look upon his face as Moses wore after his interview with Sinai's God; and it would scarce be strange if he should act and seem like Lazarus, recalled from the spirit world, as Tarshish, the Arab physician, saw and described him in Bethany. Lazarus behaved like one who has tasted blisses which make earth-joys cheap, whose soul, though in the flesh, seemed to live in view of heavens unseen by others; no longer measured or valued things by earthly standards, despised greatnesses and saw in trifling facts prodigious import; lived bordering realms of glory

> Which, conscious of, he must not enter yet—
> The spiritual life around the earthly life;
> The law of that is known to him as this;
> His heart and brain move there, his feet stay here.

He has been face to face with realities so much greater than the passing fortunes of this life's little sphere that nothing here has power to agitate or disturb him. Prodigious armaments assembling to besiege his city move him no more than the passing of a mule with gourds; and when told that Rome is on her march to stamp out like a little spark his town, his tribe, his crazy tale, and him, he merely looks with his large, steady, peaceful eyes on who would frighten him. Man gets his bracing by vision of the unseen universe of which the visible cosmos is but a product and phenomenon. And a bracing book, indeed, is this which our bishop has given us. Not to read and study it should be counted a misdemeanor in any minister able to buy or beg or borrow it.

A Creedless Gospel and the Gospel Creed. By HENRY Y. SATTERLEE, D.D. Rector of Calvary Episcopal Church, New York city. 8vo, pp. 522. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

In this book a prophet lifts up his voice in the name of the Lord, protesting to his generation that the popular Christianity of to-day is not in accord with New Testament Christianity, and sounding a strongly reasoned recall. It begins with an implied disapproval of the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago, and sympathizes with the Archbishop of Canterbury's refusal to participate therein. It is divided into three parts: "A Creedless Gospel;" "The Gospel Creed;" "Witnesses for Christ." It is broadly intelligent, frank, firm, and fearless. Advocating the formation of bands among communicants in parishes, the author says: "In this way our modern believers would find the kind of help the early Christians had when they met together in caves and catacombs as a little

band misunderstood by and separate from the outer world. Like those witnesses of the primitive Church, they would gain the inspiration and stimulus which comes from association and concentrated effort in following a high religious aim; they would be brought face to face, through the interchange of Christian sympathies, with the realities of Christian discipleship, and not feel that a spiritual atmosphere is so unreal as it seems to the outer world." And in a footnote he adds: "In modern Christian life the Methodist system of 'classes' and 'class leaders' . . . gives us a glimpse of the kind of spiritual influences that accompany such associated Christian efforts in the cause of Christ." Since this book appeared its author has been chosen bishop of the new diocese of Washington, D. C. Having declined similar honors in Ohio and in Michigan he now accepts, and will enter publicly on the labors of his bishopric on Palm Sunday at the national capital. He has said: "I seriously object to being labeled as belonging to any one school of thought in the Church. I prefer to be free and untrammeled. In some things I suppose I am a High Churchman, in others Low, and in others Broad. I claim the right to live up to the comprehensiveness allowed in the Church, and to hold the truth as I see it, no matter by what name it may be called." Dr. Satterlee is a manly, earnest, courageous, evangelical minister, with a passion for active evangelization and a warm practical sympathy for the poor and neglected. He has done great work for the disadvantaged and unbefriended, utilizing for that purpose the resources of his large and wealthy church. Highways and hedges know his shepherding presence and voice. On summer evenings during the twenty minutes preceding service-time he would stand, dressed in his cossack and with bared head, at the outer threshold of the vestibule of his church, greeting everyone who approached the entrance, friends and strangers alike, with a hearty "Good evening. I am glad to see you. Walk in!" extending both hands in welcome. When the time for service arrived he would pass quickly back into the vestry room, put on his preaching robe, and appear in the chancel to conduct service and preach. Before dismissing the congregation an invitation would be given for any who wished to remain for a brief religious conference. Then, when the bustle of the departing majority was over, he would stand on the floor at the head of the middle aisle and talk familiarly to those who had remained in the most direct, simple, and helpful way, driving straight at their spiritual needs and duties. In Christ Church, Brooklyn, Dr. Satterlee, preaching before the bishop and clergy of the diocese of Long Island, urging that the Church should cherish a broader, more brotherly and catholic spirit, learning wisdom from its own past mistakes, pointed his suggestion with this historic reference: "If we had treated the Methodists properly they would never have gone out from us." Delivering the annual sermon to the graduating class of Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown, Conn., he charged the young theologues not to imagine theirs to be the only ministry, but to look abroad and rejoice in the great work which God is doing through his servants of other communions, and to cultivate sympathy with all who

are sincerely laboring in the name of our common Lord and Master. We know of no man in the Protestant Episcopal body more worthy to be a bishop than Dr. Satterlee.

The Witness of Denial. By VIDA D. SCUDDER, A.M. 12mo, pp. 152. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

An abridgment of lectures given at Wellesley College. Six chapters make up this little book on "The Movement of Doubt;" "The Renascence of Faith;" "The Religion of Mystery;" "The Religion of Humanity;" "The Religion of Morality;" "The Religion of Christ." Miss Scudder in her Preface says: "The tone of the book throughout will be found candidly Christian. . . . These pages will hardly appeal to the thorough agnostic; they speak, too often, a language strange to him, which he will reject as fantastic and unreal. The book is meant for those who seek, not for those who are at rest; perhaps, indeed, it could reach no one who is not already earnestly wishing to accept Christianity. Even so, the number of those to whom it is directed is very great." Here are some of the closing words of the book: "From Christianity all modern faith, however unconsciously, springs; to Christianity it must return. The sense of finite ignorance, the passionate love for men, the recognition of force making for righteousness—all these, with their colored and partial glory, unite in the white and simple light of the Christian faith. And in the ideal Church of Christ are found waiting the means by which these great truths may be made part of the daily life of men. Through her the glory of the Infinite is revealed to that humanity which, standing at the height of natural evolution, serves as a meeting place between the material and the divine. In her as the family of brethren, nay, the very body of Christ, is fully realized the collective conception of the race as an organic whole. Her great sacraments present not only types of spiritual truths, but channels through which the influx of the spirit of righteousness may purify and feed the human soul." Miss Scudder is a gifted and highly cultivated woman.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Letters of Matthew Arnold. Collected and arranged by GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 909. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $3.

In these letters there is little additional to his published writings on the themes mostly treated therein. We do not find in the privacy of personal correspondence any fuller or freer utterance of the views with which he most attracted public attention when alive. To his previous intellectual contribution these volumes add little, nor is there in them any special play of mental brilliancy. Their interest and value chiefly lie in his opinions on various people and things and in showing us the man as he moved in life's ordinary affairs and in domestic and friendly relations. It is remarked that they exhibit his faculty for keen enjoyment, his manly endurance of adverse fate, buoyancy in breasting difficulties, unremitting

solicitude for those nearest his heart, love of children, childlike pleasure in his own performances, laboriousness in a life of unremunerative drudgery, a nature essentially religious, and a constant remembrance of his own doctrine that conduct is three fourths of life. He was a sort of modern Marcus Aurelius. The letters begin with 1848, and the first ones give glimpses of the commotions agitating Europe in that troublous year which set so many hearts and institutions a-tremble. Matthew Arnold mingled in the great mob which rioted in Trafalgar Square in March of that year, noted the din and whirl and brutality which envelop a movement of the masses, and anticipated "a wave of more than American vulgarity, moral, intellectual, and social, preparing to break over" England. He says, "It is the intelligence of the idea-moved masses of France which makes them politically as far superior to the insensible masses of England as to the Russian serfs." He meets Emerson in London and is told by him that Carlyle is much agitated by the course of things, had known a European revolution to be inevitable, but had expected the old state of things to last out his time; now Carlyle was giving "our British institutions, as they are called, aristocracy, Church, etc., five years to live." "The ridiculous terror of people here is beyond belief. Tell Miss Martineau it is said here that Monckton Milnes (afterward Lord Houghton) refused to be sworn in as a special constable that he might be free to assume the post of President of the Republic at a moment's notice." (In 1848 Great Britain was expected by many to become a republic.) Matthew Arnold writes his eldest sister, "I am not sure but I agree in Lamartine's prophecy that one hundred years hence the Continent will be a great united federal republic, and England, all her colonies gone, in a dull, steady decay." [The one hundred years are already about half gone by.] Arnold at the age of twenty-nine writes thus bluntly to his sister, Mrs. W. E. Forster: "I am by nature so very different from you, the worldly element enters so much more largely into my composition that as I become formed there seems to grow a gulf between us, which tends to widen till we can hardly hold any intercourse across it." He reads Bacon, Pindar, Sophocles, Milton, Thomas à Kempis, and Ecclesiasticus, and is sickened of modern literature, which he finds "not bracing or edifying in the least." In 1853 it was the opinion of Lord John Russell that Matthew Arnold was the one rising young poet of that day. Spending a Sunday in Oxford, in 1854, Arnold is struck with the apathy and poorness of the people there, and with the petty pottering habits of the students as compared with those of Paris, Germany, or even London. Animation and power of work are wanting. Newman's religious movement, which kept the place from stagnating, has gone, and nothing better has come to take its place. However, Arnold hopes that "the infusion of Dissenters' sons of that muscular, hard-working, *unblasé* middle class—for this it is in spite of its abominable disagreeableness—may brace the flaccid sinews of Oxford a little." He says that what made his father, Arnold of Rugby, great was "that he was not only a good man, saving his own soul by righteousness, but that he carried so many others with him in his hand, and saved them,

if they would let him, along with himself." On the publication of a new volume of "Modern Painters," this is his criticism on Ruskin, "the man and his character too febrile, irritable, and weak to allow him to possess the *ordo concatenatioque veri.*" As he grows older he learns "to make habitual war on depression and low spirits," which are "noxious alike to body and mind and partake of the nature of death." One May day the man of thirty-five writes, "I have a positive thirst to see the Alps again, and two or three things I have in hand which I cannot finish till I have again breathed and smelt Swiss air." He thinks his tragedy, "Merope," has "what Buddha called 'the character of fixity, that true sign of the law,'" and writes a friend in Italy, "Make Browning read it if he is in Florence. As to his wife, I regard her as hopelessly confirmed in her aberration from health, nature, beauty, and truth." He says that to unite perfection of thought and feeling with that of form is difficult unless one can devote one's whole life to poetry, as Wordsworth and Byron and Shelley could, and also "Tennyson, a far inferior natural power to either of the three." Of a public dinner at Birmingham he writes: "I heard John Bright to perfection. The company was dismally obscure, the dinner abominably bad, the speaking, all but his, unutterably wearisome; but his speech made amends. He is an orator of almost the highest rank—voice and manner excellent; perhaps not quite flow enough—not that he halts or stammers, but I like sometimes to have more of a rush than he ever gives you. He is a far better speaker than Gladstone." Of John Stuart Blackie Arnold writes: "He is an animated, pleasant man, with a liking for all sorts of things that are excellent. For the rest, an *esprit* as confused and hoity-toity as possible, and as capable of translating Homer as of making the Apollo Belvidere." This is a travel note: "What wounds one's feelings in Holland is the perpetual consciousness that the country has no business there at all. You see it all below the level of the water, soppy, hideous, and artificial; and because it exists against nature nobody can exist there except at a frightful expense, which is very well for the natives, who may be thankful to live on any terms, but disagreeable for foreigners who do not like to pay twice as much as elsewhere for being half as comfortable. What is most disagreeable is the climate; you live in a constant smell of ooze, at least in summer; hot ooze when in the sun, cold ooze when you go under the trees." From Strasburg, in 1859, he prophesies that in case of war between the two nations bordering the Rhine "the French will beat the Prussians all to pieces, without doubt." Mill's book on Liberty is "one of the few books that inculcate tolerance in an unalarming and inoffensive way." Upon Carlyle's death he writes: "I never much liked Carlyle. He seemed to me to be 'carrying coals to Newcastle;' preaching earnestness to a nation which had plenty of it by nature, but was less abundantly supplied with several other useful things." He finds Emerson of far more use than Carlyle. Robert Burns "is a beast, with splendid gleams, and the medium in which he lived, Scotch peasants, Scotch Presbyterianism, and Scotch drink, is repulsive." Arnold speaks of "the intellectual vulgarity" of the London *Times*. "I do not

think Tennyson a *grand et puissant esprit;* and therefore I do not really set much store by him, in spite of his popularity." "The real truth is that Tennyson, with all his temperament and artistic skill, is deficient in intellectual power; and no modern poet can make very much of his business unless he is preeminently strong in this. Goethe owes his grandeur to his strength in this, although it even hurt his poetical operations by its immense predominance." Arnold says, "Homer leaves Shakespeare, with all his unequaled gifts—and certainly there never was any such naturally gifted poet—as far behind as perfection leaves imperfection." He speaks of reading the "Odyssey" to keep himself from putrefaction. From these two volumes of Arnold's letters Americans can get a pretty complete idea of his opinion of them and their country. In our war time, 1862, he thinks it has become "indispensable to give the Americans a *moral lesson*," and fervently hopes it will be given. He thinks the feeling of kinship between the two countries does not count for much; "after immediate blood relationship the relationship of the soul is the only important thing, and this one has far more with the French, Italians, or Germans than with the Americans." In 1883, "I do not think the bulk of the American nation at present gives one the impression of being made of fine enough clay to serve the highest purposes of civilization." In this country he writes: "This morning I have been to hear Ward Beecher. His management of his voice and hold on his vast audience struck me wonderfully, but the sermon was poor. They said he knew I was coming and was on his good behavior, and therefore constrained. At the end of the service he came down into the area to see me, gave me the notes of his sermon, said I had taught him much, that he had read my rebukes of him too, and that they were just and had done him good." The American press is "an awful symptom;" the "best paper is the *Evening Post*, written by Godkin, an expatriated Anglo-Irishman." The *Boston Herald* is "a coarse paper, but perhaps the strongest in America." "A Detroit newspaper compared me, as I stooped now and then to look at my manuscript on a music stand, to 'an elderly bird pecking at grapes on a trellis.'" "An American told the Bishop of Rochester that 'Denver was not ripe for Mr. Arnold.'" His daughter "is in bliss at New York, but she is a goose to prefer it to Canada." "The hills of the Ohio Valley at Cincinnati are really picturesque, and the views from the park-like heights around were very fine. The river, with its wooded hills, had a curve which bore a startling resemblance to Windermere, with its curve at the island, only the Ohio was much broader." "Quebec is the most interesting thing I have seen on this continent, and I think I would sooner be a poor priest in Quebec than a rich hog merchant in Chicago." "The political sense of the people" of America seems to be "sounder than with us, and is the soundest thing they have." The New World buys his books, he says, because they are "novel and strange;" "the New World is getting very large and strong;" his books have "done much good in America." Of Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* he writes: "All the religious world, and even the more serious portion of the aristocratical

world, have accepted the book as a godsend, and are saying to themselves that here at last is safety and scientific shelter for the orthodox supernaturalisms which seemed menaced with total defeat." What Arnold sees in America is "the civilization of the Australian colonies and not of Europe—distinctly inferior to that of Europe." The "capital defect of life" in America is that "compared with life in England, it is so uninteresting, so without savor and without depth." Of General Grant's *Memoirs* he says: "Grant is shown by this book to be one of the most solid men they have had. I prefer him to Lincoln. Except Franklin I know hardly any one so *selbst-ständig*, so broad and strong-sighted, as well as firm charactered, that they have had."

Anima Poetae. From the unpublished notebooks of SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. Edited by ERNEST HARTLEY COLERIDGE. 8vo, pp. 271. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

Coleridge looked for a time when he might have opportunity and energy to reduce to order the contents of his almost numberless notebooks, full of remarkable miscellaneous literary materials. The Preface of the book before us says: "The aim of the present work has been to present a collection of unpublished aphorisms and sentences, and at the same time to enable the reader to form some estimate of those strange self-communings to which Coleridge devoted so much of his intellectual energy, and by means of which he hoped to pass through the mists and shadows of words and thoughts to a steadier contemplation, to the apprehension, if not the comprehension, of the mysteries of Truth and Being." The selections are arranged, as far as possible, in chronological order. The best way of making our readers acquainted with the book is by letting it speak for itself through quotations. One curious item is that Coleridge was in lifelong error about his birthday. He said it was October 20; his editor says it was October 21. Here are sample sayings: "Socinianism, moonlight; Methodism, a stove. O for some sun to unite heat and light!" "A most unpleasant dispute with Wordsworth and Hazlitt. I spoke, I fear, too contemptuously; but they spoke so irreverently, so malignantly of the Divine Wisdom that it overset me." Reading Barrow's treatise "On the Pope's Supremacy," Coleridge made a note on "the *L'Estrangeism* of his style whenever his thoughts rendered it possible for the words to be pert, frisky, and vulgar." Speaking of "the inward light" he says, "In Plotinus the system of the Quakers is most beautifully expressed: 'It is not lawful to inquire from whence it originated, for it neither approached hither, nor again departs from hence to some other place, but it either appears to us or does not appear. So that we ought not to pursue it as if with a view of discerning its latent original, but to abide in quiet till it suddenly shines upon us, preparing ourselves for the blessed spectacle, like the eye waiting for the rising sun.'" "Religious slang operates better on women than on men." George Dyer said to Rickman, "Your aunt, sir, is a very sensible woman. Why, I read, sir, my 'Ode' to her, and she said it was a very pretty thing. There are very few women, sir, that possess that fine discrimination, sir." Coleridge

writes: "Dear Sir Walter Scott and myself were exact but harmonious opposites in this—that every old ruin, hill, or tree called up in his mind a host of historical or biographical associations; whereas I believe I should walk over the plain of Marathon without taking more interest in it than in any other plain of similar features." "The gracious promises and sweetnesses and aids of religion are as alarming and distressful to a trifling, light, fluttering, gay child of fashion and vanity as its threats and reproaches and warnings." "St. Paul has well observed, 'By worldly wisdom no man ever arrived at God,' but having seen him by the moral sense, then we understand the outward world." "In the Preface of my metaphysical works I should say, 'Once for all, read Kant, Fichte, etc., and then you will trace, or, if you are on the hunt, track me.'" "With friends and beloved ones follow the heart. Better be deceived twenty times than suspect one twentieth of once." Dr. Alexander Geddes, the author of a revised translation of the Scriptures, is described as "that bubbling ice spring of cold-hearted, mad-headed fanaticism." "I seem to feel that if France had been for ages a Protestant nation, and a Milton had been born in it, the French language would not have precluded the production of a 'Paradise Lost,' though it might, perhaps, that of a Hamlet or a Lear." Every literary worker will understand Coleridge's reluctance to destroy or throw away papers or magazines: "I am ashamed to confess what pulling back of the heart I feel whenever I wish to kindle a fire with a hospital or harbor report, and what a cumulus lies on my table. I am not able to conjecture of what use they can ever be, and yet trembling lest what I then destroyed might be of some use in the way of knowledge." "Consider the incalculable advantage of chiefly dwelling on the virtues of the heart, of habits of feeling and harmonious action, the music of the adjusted string at the impulse of the breeze, and, on the other hand, the evils of books concerning particular actions, minute cases of conscience, hair-splitting directions and decisions, O how illustrated by the detestable character of most of Roman Catholic casuists!" "Speculative men are wont to be condemned. Who more speculative than Sir Walter Raleigh? Yet he, even he, brought in the potato to Europe." "Always bear in mind that profound sentence of Leibnitz that men's intellectual errors consist chiefly in *denying*. What they *affirm* with feeling is, for the most part, right." "Let England be Sir Philip Sidney, Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Harrington, Swift, Wordsworth." "Leibnitz, Lessing, Voss, Kant shall be Germany to me, let whatever coxcombs rise up, and shrill it away in the grasshopper vale of reviews. And so shall Dante, Ariosto, Giordano Bruno be my Italy, Cervantes my Spain; and O! that I could find a France for my love. But spite of Pascal, Madame Guyon, and Molière, France is my Babylon, the mother of whoredoms, in morality, philosophy, and taste." "The vile, cowardly, selfish, calculating ethics of Paley, Priestly, Locke, and other Erastians do woefully influence us." "The progress of human intellect from earth to heaven is not a Jacob's ladder, but a geometrical staircase with five or more landing places." "I love beings superior to myself better than my

equals. But the notion of inferiority is so painful to me that I never, in common life, feel a man my inferior except by after reflection." "So receive, so believe divine ideas that ye may earn the right to understand them. For faith should go before understanding, in order that understanding may be the reward of faith." "Aristotle admits that demonstrated truths are inferior in kind of certainty to the indemonstrable out of which the former are deduced." "The first man of science was he who looked into a thing, not to learn whether it could furnish him with food, or shelter, or weapons, or tools, or ornaments, but who sought to know it for the gratification of *knowing;* while he that first sought to *know* in order to *be* was the first philosopher." "There is no superstition but what has religion as its base, and religion is only reason seen perspectively by a finite intelligence." Coleridge was of opinion that Protestants should require of a converted Romish priest no other recantation than "a declaration that he admitted no outward authority superior to, or coordinate with, the canonical Scriptures, and no interpreter that superseded or stood in the place of the Holy Spirit, enlightening the mind of each true believer, according to his individual needs." He might be a good Protestant by renouncing only this.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Memories and Studies of War and Peace. By ARCHIBALD FORBES, with Portrait of the Author. 8vo, pp. 368. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.50.

Forbes writes that the most brilliant of all the men who ever gained reputation as war correspondents was that brave young Ohioan, J. A. MacGahan, who, if he were alive, might possibly in the magnanimity of his soul put the laurel upon Archibald Forbes's own war-worn weather-beaten brow. Concerning MacGahan, Forbes writes: "He was the hero of that wonderful lonely ride through the Great Desert of Central Asia to overtake Kauffmann's Russian army on its march to Khiva. He it was who stirred Europe to its inmost heart by the terrible and truthful pictures of what have passed into history as the 'Bulgarian atrocities.' It is, indeed, no exaggeration to aver that, for better or worse, MacGahan was the virtual author of the Russo-Turkish war. His pen-pictures of the atrocities so excited the fury of the Slav population of Russia, that their passionate demand for retribution on the 'unspeakable Turk' virtually compelled the emperor, Alexander II, to undertake the war." The Armenian atrocities of to-day ought to precipitate the armies of Europe upon the accursed Turk. Is there no MacGahan to stir the righteous wrath of Christendom? Forbes and MacGahan were comrades in many perils and rivals in many a daring enterprise. Certain it is that these two have done more than any other modern men to make us eyewitnesses of some of the most remarkable military campaigns and conflicts of our century. Everybody who has a library ought to have in it at least one such book as this, and of its kind we know of none surpass-

ing it. Its style suits magnificently with its tremendous subject. It is as grimly splendid as an army marching on the enemy, as dashing and fiery as a cavalry charge. Here are some of the titles of these terrific cartoons, painted by the hand of a master: "Moltke Before Metz," "The Dark Days of Sedan," "Ambush Against Ambush," "Paris in Prostration," "The Crushing of the Commune," "The Death of the Prince Imperial" (of France). Other chapters are entitled, "Ten Years of War Correspondence," "The Future of the Wounded in War," "Distinguished Conduct in the Field," "On the Old Warpath," "Soldiers I Have Known." This concerning MacGahan in the Turko-Russian War: "His work throughout the long campaign was singularly effective, and his physical exertions extraordinary; yet he was suffering all through with a lameness that would have disabled eleven out of twelve men. He had broken a bone in his ankle just before the declaration of war, and when I first met him the joint was encased in plaster of Paris. He insisted on accompanying Gourko's raid across the Balkans; and in the Hankioj Pass his horse slid over a precipice and fell on its rider so that his half-set bone was broken again. But the indomitable MacGahan refused to be invalided by this mishap. He quietly had himself hoisted on a tumbril, and so went through the whole adventurous expedition, being involved thus helpless in several actions, and once all but falling into the hands of the Turks. He kept the front throughout, long after I had gone home disabled by fever; he brilliantly chronicled the fall of Pleona and the surrender of Osman Pasha; he crossed the Balkans with Skobuleff in the dead of that terrible winter; and finally, at the premature age of thirty-two, he died, characteristically, a martyr to duty and to friendship. When the Russian armies lay around Constantinople waiting for the settlement of the Treaty of Berlin, typhoid fever and camp pestilences were slaying their tens of thousands. Lieutenant Greene, an American officer attached officially to the Russian army, fell sick, and MacGahan devoted himself to the task of nursing his fellow-countryman. His devotion cost him his life. As Greene was recovering MacGahan sickened of malignant typhus; and a few days later they laid him in his far-off foreign grave, around which stood weeping mourners of a dozen nationalities." To Archibald Forbes's thinking no spectacle he ever saw vied in human interest with that presented by the simple cordiality and tenderness of the arrival of the old Kaiser Wilhelm I at his Potsdam home immediately after the ending of the Franco-German war. "Long before the time named for the arrival of the royal train the platform of the Potsdamer railway station was thronged with notabilities. There were Bismarck in his white cuirassier uniform, and Moltke, and Roon, and other principal personages of the great headquarters staff. There was the venerable Marshal Wrangel, a still older soldier than his sovereign. There, too, were Vogel von Falkenstein, grim and gray, and old Steinmetz, come from his distant Posen governorship. Of ladies and children of the royal house the name was Legion. In a siding opposite the platform, whether by accident or design, had been shunted a hos-

pital train, from the windows of which pallid faces looked out on the brilliant scene. Upon the carriage roofs clustered convalescents; and a little squad of fellows maimed at Spicheren and Borny gave Steinmetz a cheer—old 'Immer Vorwärts,' as they styled him; and so with gossip and endless kindly greetings the moments of expectancy passed. At sound of the distant whistle, out from the waiting room stalked Bismarck. Wrangel doffed his plumed helmet; a stream of ladies and children followed Bismarck's stalwart form. In two minutes more the train rolled up to the platform. Then rose a mighty shout of cheering; and there at the carriage window stood the emperor looking out on his family and servants. A moment later, and he was down the steps kissing the dowager Queen Elizabeth. It seemed as if the women of his race were mobbing him as they crowded round him for his kisses, while grandchildren hung about his knees. The old man was brushing his shaggy eyelashes with the back of his hand as he struggled through the women folk about him. In his path stood 'Papa' Wrangel, a beam from the setting sun flashing on his snow-white hair. The soldier patriarch raised his hand and tried to utter a welcome, but his voice failed him, and the tears rolled down his face. His master, not less moved, kissed his aged servant affectionately on both cheeks. The two old soldier comrades embraced, and Steinmetz's wounded fellows on the carriage roofs cheered the mutual greeting. Then the emperor grasped Bismarck by the hand and kissed him too, and old Steinmetz as well, forgiven for his waste of men on the slope over against Gravelotte; he kissed his way right through, out into the waiting room, hand in hand with the empress, who was shedding quiet tears. The scene was like an April day, showers and sunshine, tears and smiles; all state and ceremony were swept away in the gush of homely affection. When his majesty had reached the palace the cheers of his Berliners kept him long lingering on its threshold; over and over again he had to come out on the balcony with the empress; and his final appearance was at the accustomed corner window, at which he had shown himself when the declaration of war was announced. That war was now triumphantly finished, and the old Kaiser Wilhelm had come home from his last campaign."

This Goodly Frame, the Earth. By FRANCIS TIFFANY. Crown 8vo, pp. 364. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

This is a sprightly, sparkling, glowing, and buoyant book of travels, one of the most delightful of its kind, containing "strong impressions of scenes, incidents, and persons in a journey touching Japan, China, Egypt, Palestine, and Greece"—in fact, a trip around the world. There is nothing humdrum, prosy, or hackneyed in it. Chapter eighth, on Japan, begins thus: "Japan has just now reached her ebullient sophomore year in the world-university curriculum. . . . At present the Japanese are top-heavily overladen with conceit. Only think of it! How comparatively few the years since the Imperial University of Tokio was founded under the actual title, 'An Institution for Examining into the Writings of the

Barbarians'—Newton, La Place, Watt, Lyell, and Darwin, all summed up under that engaging category! Yet, already, having squeezed whatever they knew out of German, French, English, American professors, have the Japanese quickly sent home the majority of them, and themselves taken their places; as equally they have done with European railway contractors, civil engineers, shipbuilders, and locomotive builders, and are beginning to do even with Teutonic brewers of lager beer. Did the world ever see the like! Very natural the feeling that they have sucked the whole contents of the occidental scientific orange and thrown away the skin." His impressions of the Chinese are like our own: "One cannot but feel that there is latent in them the stuff of a giant future, after once the mighty throes of revolution that are at hand shall have steeped them in scalding tears and chilled them in icy waters and forged them under the trip-hammer blows of sure-coming destiny." Here is a glimpse of another race: "The Egyptians have been called the most patient of the peoples of the world. This patience, does it root in their impassive nervous fiber, or is it the result of self-control? Certain it is that one sees no end of babies of six months, their faces thick with swarming flies, and each eye itself constantly run over by the legs of at least a dozen, who never so much as wink, much less lift a tiny hand to brush the pests away. Many the minister at home, a man of ascetic moral training and high spirituality, who is yet more carnally exercised, even in the full fervor of his discourse, by a single fly persistently disporting around the sensitive flanges of his nostrils, than are these little innocents by swarms of them. Under like aggravation an American baby would make the welkin ring. The historic question inevitably precipitated by such a nervous phenomenon is whether American babies, already so high-strung and rebellious at the age of six months, could ever develop into a race capable of building the pyramids." We copy some of Mr. Tiffany's comments on the criticisers of missionary work: "As a general rule it will be found that the more dissolute and shameless the life an American, Englishman, or German is leading in Japan (or elsewhere) the more conscientiously he is opposed to missions and the lower in the scale does he rate the motives and character of missionaries. Really pathetic, for example, is it to hear him enlarge on the cruelty of introducing the standards of our severe and ascetic American sisters among these unconscious children of nature, their eyes not yet open to the fatal knowledge of good and evil. Along with these stanch champions of the primitive Eden before the fall into the lost innocency of moral distinctions, one encounters another class equally severe on missionaries. It consists of hypersensitive, æsthetic natures so ethereally organized as to live in perpetual danger of 'dying of a rose in aromatic pain.' They tremble lest under the sirocco breath of the missionary the aroma will be dispelled from the flower, the dew exhaled from the grass. As, after the most exhaustive investigation, I could never discover that any representative of either of these classes had ever been near a mission, I was forced to the conclusion that their judgments were either too dissolutely or too æsthetically *a priori* to be

entitled to great weight." "It is a bit exasperating to read much that has been written by Americans, who, perhaps, were scientifically keen-eyed, but with about the religious endowment of monkeys, on the absurdity and futility of every kind of mission." "Like every other nation, Japan is indebted to missions for its highest religious and material development." Of the contempt of the Chinese for foreigners and their civilization he says: "It is a contempt Atlas in height, continental in breadth, oceanic in depth—a contempt *in sæcula sæculorum*. One is awed by it. One yearns for a massiveness of nature capable of so Mont Blanc a solidity of contempt-sensation. I repeat it. Something sublime is there in beholding for once the virtue of conservatism developed to Himalayan proportions. If Confucius really did this all of himself then I rank him next to the law of gravitation." Speaking of the filth and nastiness of Chinese cities he writes: "The one predominant feeling with my friend and myself as we emerged from the gate of Shanghai was a longing to be hung out for a month on a clothesline in a gale of wind. Carbolic acid and chloride of lime would have seemed perfumes of rarer fragrance than heliotrope or tea roses."

From Far Formosa. The Island, its People and Missions. By GEORGE LESLIE MACKAY, D.D., twenty-three years a missionary in Formosa. Edited by the Rev. J. A. MACDONALD. 8vo, pp. 346. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, buckram decorated, $2.

The author is known as the missionary hero of the Canadian Presbyterian Church. Having been educated at Toronto, Princeton, and Edinburg, he went to Formosa in 1872, when there was not one church, chapel, or native Christian to be found in its cities, on its plains, or among its mountains. Beginning as a lone stranger his mission now includes sixty organized native churches, with a baptized membership of 2,719, each church being in charge of a trained native minister. There is a training school for preachers, a school for the education of girls and the instruction of Bible women, a hospital and dispensary. The book contains, in addition to the story of apostolic missionary labors, chapters on the geology and botany of Formosa and the ethnology of its inhabitants. There is a glimpse of perils from mobs in the open streets, assassins in dark places, savage tribes known as "Black Flags" in the mountains, and their stealthy "head hunters" in the border lands. The maps and frequent illustrations add to the interest and value of the book, which is a distinct addition to missionary literature.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Victorian Anthology. Edited by EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN. Large 8vo, pp. 739. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, gilt top, cloth, $2.50.

The selections in this volume are limited to the poetic yield of the British nation, including England's colonies during the reign of Victoria, dating from 1837 to 1895. This book is based on and its selections are

illustrative of Mr. Stedman's previous volume; which was a critical review of British poetry during the reign of the present sovereign. As good a picture of the queen as we have ever seen prefaces the volume. The reigns of England's two great queens, Elizabeth and Victoria, are marked by unequaled imaginative fertility. Choice and typical selections from four hundred and forty-three poets of the latter reign are in this delightful and valuable book. The colonial minstrelsy of India, Australasia, and the Dominion of Canada is here also, including Toru Dutt, Rudyard Kipling, and Bliss Carman. Among our latest contemporaries in these selections are Austin Dobson, Andrew Lang, Edmund Gosse, Robert Louis Stevenson, W. J. Dawson, Eric Mackay, William Watson, Norman Gale, and Richard Le Gallienne. Alfred Austin, made Poet Laureate since this book appeared, is classed with the "composite idyllic school," and only four short selections are made from the voluminous effusions of his muse. Evidently Stedman did not rate him anywhere among England's foremost living singers. It is hardly possible to say too much for the fine taste and consummate good sense which have culled this unsurpassed collection from the flowering fields of Queen Victoria's reign and realm.

Blessed Be Drudgery. By WILLIAM C. GANNETT. 16mo, pp. 29. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. Price, paper, 10 cents.

Eighty-three thousand copies of this tract have been sold. The author offers it as a discourse on a fresh beatitude. Michael Angelo is quoted: "Nothing makes the soul so pure, so religious, as the endeavor to create something perfect; for God is perfection, and whoever strives for it strives for something that is Godlike." Two cobblers being asked how long it takes to become a good shoemaker, one said, "Six years, and then you must travel;" the other said, "All your life, sir." Maydole, the Central New York hammer-maker, said to James Parton, "I have made hammers here for twenty-eight years." "Well, then you ought to be able to make a pretty good hammer by this time." "No sir. I *never* make a pretty good hammer. I make the best hammer in the United States." The president of the Cambria railworks in Pittsburg, employing seven thousand men, being asked the secret of such an enormous development of business, answered: "We have no secret. We always try to beat our last batch of rails. That's all the secret we have." Tracts like this cheer the world's toilers and make drudgery seem divine. It might profitably be read by eighty-three thousand more.

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(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1896.

ART. I.—THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY.

WITHIN the past seven years nearly thirty American universities have established, in connection with their departments of philosophy, laboratories equipped for the new or experimental psychology. This interesting movement is traceable to a previous but slower one in the universities of Germany, which is strongly stimulating the philosophic thought of the world. The popular interest in mental phenomena, shown by the prevalence of public hypnotic exhibitions, spiritualistic *séances*, faith healing, and similar perversions of true science, can now be gratified in a way that is wholesome yet thoroughly scientific and naturally attractive to the keen American mind. The recent publication of Dr. Scripture's readable work * in this field, and of its modest, clear, and skillfully planned predecessor, written by Dr. Sanford †—the first English book written in this newest department of psychology—has opened up a mine of valuable mental possibilities for American students and teachers.

Experimental psychology occupies in philosophy a place corresponding to that of Methodism in religion. As from the cleansing truth that "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself," and the other truth that "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness;

* *Thinking, Feeling, and Doing: A Popular Psychology*, 1895.

† *A Course in Experimental Psychology*, 1895. There is also a small French work by Binet, *Introduction a la Psychologie Expérimentelle*, Paris, 1894.

and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation" (R. V.), experimental religion has produced the greatest spiritual renovation in modern Church history, so there is now growing up a novel and invaluable science of mind, rooted in the basal facts of repeated and accurate experiment upon every phase of mental life.

Like many other changes in philosophic thought, experimental psychology had its scientific origin in astronomy. In 1795 Maskelyne, the astronomer-royal in Greenwich Observatory, while scrutinizing the transit records of his assistant, Kinnebrook, found them constantly too slow by amounts varying from .5 to .8 of a second—a very large error in such exact work. He expostulated, but in vain. The errors continued. Finally he discharged the assistant for chronic inaccuracy. A similar difficulty was detected later by Bessel (1784–1846), the eminent astronomer at Königsberg, Prussia, who found his own transit records one second in advance of those of his contemporaries, Argelander's being one and a quarter seconds slower than his, while those of Struve were quicker. He could not understand why such errors, varying from .3 of a second to one second, could be made by such expert observers; and finding that the variations were constant in each one's records, and could not be due to the instruments or conditions of observation, which were the same for all, he correctly inferred that the errors were mental, that the minds of the observers acted at different speeds by amounts which were appreciable and measurable. This constant margin of error he called the "personal equation." It is now always calculated carefully for each observer, and must always be considered, together with corrections for atmospheric refraction and other hindrances, in order to attain absolute accuracy.

The historical origin of experimental psychology is traceable to the Kantian philosophy. The metaphysics of this unique thinker (1724–1804) terminated in a dualism of idealism and realism. The idealistic phase was expanded variously by Fichte, the subjective idealist (1762–1814), and Schelling, the objective idealist (1775–1854), and culminated in the absolute idealism of Hegel (1770–1831), beyond whom idealistic metaphysics will probably never go. The realistic phase was developed by Herbart (1776–1841), who thereby turned the thought of Ger-

many, and therefore of the world, into its present psychological channels, and is to-day the ruling spirit of philosophical Europe. His great work, *Psychologie als Wissenschaft*, was issued in 1824. The interest in psychology which it aroused was enlarged by Lotze (1817–81), whose *Medicinische Psychologie*, published in 1852, gives due prominence to the physiological accompaniment of mental actions. Eight years later an epochal change originated with the issue in 1860 of Fechner's (1801–87) *Psycho-Physik*, in which the important discoveries of E. H. Weber (1795–1878) concerning the connection between stimuli and the resulting sensations, known as Weber's Law, were elaborated and reduced to exact formulation. Fechner emphasized the relationship of the psychical and physical factors, as his term "*psycho-physik*" implies. The interest and controversies aroused by his theories were still prevalent when Wundt (born 1832) published at Leipzig in 1874 his *Grundzüge der Physiologischen Psychologie*, combining the somewhat diverse influences of Lotze and Fechner, and showing the great value of the then recently founded science of physiological psychology. This originated in the discoveries of the physiologists Fritsch and Hitzig, who had been experimenting on the localization of function in the brains of dogs, and had found that stimulation of certain parts of the brain produced movements in corresponding parts of the dogs' bodies. Wundt accordingly saw the possibility of applying the experimental method not merely to the body but to the mind, especially the human mind. Remembering the well-known "personal equation" of the astronomers, he inferred that all mental action might perhaps be capable of similar exact measurement. He therefore started at Leipzig, in 1878, the first laboratory in the world for the experimental study of mental life.

Experimental psychology, which uses apparatus to study the mind, is thus the reverse of physics, which observes the action of natural forces by means of apparatus. The main purpose of this new science is the accurate measurement of mental acts. How long does it take to remember, to discriminate between two colors? How delicate and reliable are our space perceptions? How much energy is expended in thinking? The new psychology vouches a trustworthy answer to thousands of such questions. From a large fund of exact facts it endeavors to

formulate reliable rules of mental life, and to generalize these into laws which can stand in sturdy independence of metaphysical vagaries with the unimpeachable declaration, "Thus saith consciousness in the name of careful, repeated, and verified experiment."

The facts of experimental psychology are best secured by the laboratory method. Each mind to be experimented on must be suitably isolated from all disturbances, especially noises and strong lights. The mental laboratory should be a small building in a secluded place, with many sound-proof rooms, and with neutral-tinted walls devoid of all adornment except, perhaps, injunctions to "silence." Obeying these, and passing through the various rooms, one sees benches and tools for repairing and constructing apparatus, tables convenient for investigations, and cabinets filled with various supplies; large squares of white, black, and colored cardboards; colored papers, gummed letters and figures, photographs and engravings, electric keys, wires, batteries, and motors; glass and rubber tubing; some chemicals; stand rods and clamps. Here are also a series of "nonsense syllables," such as ZAZ, BIF, WUL, SOS, and GUG. These are mounted on small squares of white cardboard, and being quite devoid of suggestions are invaluable in memory experiments. For similar purposes are mounted some series of grammatical forms, nouns, verbs, and conjunctions. Which can we remember best, and why? And what are the subtle processes of speech? Arranged in show cases are large elastic models of the brain, illustrating the location of cerebral function, and models of the eye, ear, and other sense organs. Here is a group of instruments for testing the time tense—pendulums, stop-watches, and the sensitive chronoscope whose dials indicate the thousandth part of a second in reaction time. For arguing the correctness of spatial judgments there are standard meters, sliding tubes, and the indispensable kymograph—a revolving drum with tracing paper for recording minute intervals and distances. The delicacy of the sense of touch and pressure is examined by many simple but important devices—corks, pins mounted in various figures, hairs, and soft brushes, weights, balances, dynamometers, and ivory-pointed compasses to be drawn slowly over the skin to test its sensitiveness in different places. Here are thermometers, metal disks, beakers, and test

tubes for studying the temperature sense, and small pointed brass rods for detecting the peculiar hot spots and cold spots in the skin, of which many interesting maps have been made. In another show case are carefully prepared solutions of quinine, sugar, salt, and other substances used in taste sensations; and even smell, proven to be by far the keenest of all the senses, is experimentally measured by the "olfactometer," or odor measurer—a graduated tubular instrument showing the relative sensitiveness of the two nostrils to various odors.

Passing on, we notice delicate levers, arm-rests, pulleys, and many devices for observing the sense of motion and of muscular effort—a field that has yielded many precious data for the explanation of space perception. In other rooms is the apparatus for the more familiar realms of sight and hearing—prisms, lenses, spectroscopes, binoculars, and revolving disks for analyzing the phenomena of color-blindness, optical illusions, the secrets of retinal action in vision, and the beauties of color-mixing. Here are tuning forks, sonometers, resonators, and telephones for measuring delicate discriminations in pitch, the influence of auditory fatigue, the mental phenomena of harmony, and the ability to locate the origin of external sounds. Finally, we come to a "dark room," for experiments in æsthetics, seeking the standards of art, not in the old way of attempting to understand a masterly picture or statue, but by the simpler and better method of grouping the artistic elements—white lines, curves, and angles—in the most agreeable combinations, proceeding thence to colored lines and then to more complicated patterns, carefully testing and noting the artistic effect of each arrangement. Thus a true science of æsthetics is being formed, of great service to the artistic and commercial worlds.

These varieties of apparatus are used in two general kinds of tests. In individual experiments each subject works separately. In "mass" experiments a number of persons act in concert. The former is much more exact, though laborious. The mass method yields more data, but is less accurate. The best subjects for the experiments are normal adult minds, such as those of university students. But extremely important researches are being made in other directions. The abnormal or diseased minds of hospital and asylum patients furnish valu-

able facts. Child psychology—the study of the mental peculiarities of children—is a phase of the new science which is rapidly coming into prominence, from its direct bearing upon primary schools and kindergartens. Comparative psychology—the study of the psychic life of animals—has welcomed the experimental method, and rabbits, guinea-pigs, dogs, monkeys, and even the microscopic Amœba, have been used as laboratory subjects. The facts thus secured have been of real, though collateral, service to human psychology.

Thus it is that every niche and crevice of the mental world can be searched and compelled to yield its treasures. The mental differences due to age, sex, occupation, education, environment, and heredity; the influence of fatigue, of narcotics and stimulants; the relation of mind and brain; the relative delicacy and rapidity of action of the various senses; the number of objects simultaneously perceivable; the laws of attention, imagination, memory, and association; the subtle phenomena of hypnotism; the psychic effects of the weather—these and many hundreds of similar problems are being attacked with a scientific enthusiasm, armed with the finest instruments which modern skill can devise. Nor is this all. Not appeased with their brilliant success in these more prosaic realms, the daring followers of Herbart, led by the veteran Wundt, have actually invaded the sheltered citadels of emotional life. By simple devices fastened to the finger tips, wrists, neck, and breast, and thence connected by rubber tubing and indexes to tracing paper on the revolving drum of the kymograph, these cunning inquisitors have accurately recorded and tabulated the heart throbs and sighs, the smiles and starts, of their laboratory victims while in joy, grief, fear, or surprise—emotions easily produced under laboratory conditions. And still insatiate, nor content with these achievements, the devotees of the new psychology are already bowing at the soul's inmost shrine—the will—and its mysteries are not only being unveiled, but actually scrutinized, measured, tested, and tabulated, to the wonder of spectators and to the joy of this victorious but reverent science.

Yet it is little more than one and a half decades since Wundt opened his laboratory in Leipzig. Meantime others have appeared in many universities of the world. There are eight in Ger-

many—at Leipzig (Wundt), Berlin (Ebbinghaus, since gone to Breslau), Göttingen (Müller), Bonn (Martius), Prague (Hering), Munich (Stumpf, now at Berlin), Heidelberg (Kräpelin), and Freiburg in Baden (Münsterberg, now professor at Harvard). In France there are two—at the Collége de France (Ribot, 1886) and at the Sorbonne (Binet and Beunis, 1891). In Switzerland there is one, at Geneva (Flournoy). Italy has two—one each at Rome (Sergi) and at Florence (Mantegazza). There is one in England, at Cambridge (1891), one in Canada, at Toronto (Kirschmann), and one in Japan, at Tokio (Dr. Mortora).

The American universities lead the world, having twenty-six or more laboratories as compared with the sixteen in all other countries. The first was opened at Johns Hopkins, in 1883, by G. Stanley Hall, a pupil of Wundt, but has remained closed since his departure for the presidency of Clark University. There are now five laboratories in Massachusetts institutions. That at Harvard is the best equipped in the country, and is noted for fine graduate work. It was founded by the genial James in 1891, and is directed by the brilliant young Münsterberg, a pupil and antagonist of Wundt. Clark University (President Hall and Dr. Sanford) is doing valuable research work and publication. McLean Hospital, at Waverly (Dr. Hoch), does laboratory work in psychiatry, or mental diseases. Amherst (Professor Garman) offers undergraduate courses, and Wellesley (Professor Mary Calkins) is the only woman's college in America giving experimental training. In Connecticut, Yale (Professor Ladd and Dr. Scripture) has fifteen rooms for laboratory work, and Wesleyan (Professor Armstrong) offers demonstration courses. The laboratory of Brown University is directed by Dr. Delabarre, a pupil of Münsterberg. Columbia (Dr. Cattell) and Cornell (Dr. Titchener) have handsomely equipped laboratories, and courses are given in the University of the City of New York (Professor Bliss). Dr. J. M. Baldwin, noted for his valuable work in child psychology, superintends Princeton's laboratory, and there is a small one in the New Jersey State Normal School at Trenton (Professor Williams). The University of Pennsylvania (Dr. Witmer) has a good outfit, and experimental work is being done at the Pennsylvania State College (Dr. Runkle). In Ohio, Western Reserve (Dr. Aikins) and Deni-

son University (Professor Herrick) have equipments. Chicago University (Professor Strong and J. Angell) has a choice assortment of apparatus, and Leland Stanford (Dr. F. Angell) has done experimental work for some years. In the Western State universities laboratories are found in Michigan (Professor Wanly), Indiana (Dr. Bryan), Illinois (Dr. Kronn, an energetic worker in child study*), Iowa (Professor Patrick), Nebraska (Dr. Wolfe), and Wisconsin (Dr. Jastrow, who was director of the psychological exhibit at the World's Fair). A fact of peculiar significance, especially to the advocates of progressive experimental religion, is that in the Roman Catholic University of Washington city, under the skillful supervision of Professor Pace, there is a well-equipped psychological laboratory, representing the very foremost advance in modern philosophic thought.

The investigations of these institutions are published on the Continent in such periodicals as Wundt's *Philosophische Studien*, the *Zeitschrift für Psychologie*, *Philosophische Monatshefte*, *Revue Philosophique*, and the recent *Année Psychologique* (edited by Binet, Paris), in *Mind* (London), and in our own country in the *American Journal of Psychology* (Clark University), the *Philosophical Review* (Cornell), and the new *Psychological Review* (edited by Drs. Baldwin and Cattell, with many associates here and abroad). Many monographs are also being privately published. From all those sources comes the material for our best text-books in psychology.

Thus is this nascent science vivifying the entire educational world. It is constructing a durable psychology over the ruins of the "mental philosophy" of a few decades ago, giving better rules for the physician, teacher, and all who deal with the mind and having an important influence upon ethics, metaphysics, and sociology.

* See *Transactions of the Illinois Society for Child Study.*

John Bigham.

Art. II.—JOHN KEATS—HIS CHARACTER AND WORKS.

No other name, perhaps, in the entire range of English literature is so significant of precocious genius, vivid and beautiful imagination, and unexampled word-painting. That a man dying in the twenty-sixth year of his age, after a comparatively brief season of literary activity, should leave behind him such an artistic and satisfying body of verse, is sufficiently remarkable; but when the fact is also noted that this young writer was the founder of a new school in the art of poetry—a school which to-day is most popular and flourishing—the circumstance becomes historical in its value. Despite his limited career, so rapid was the maturity of his intellectual energies that the works which John Keats has left to the world will continue to be read, wherever the English language is spoken, with renewed astonishment and delight.

To read the poems of Keats is not unlike indulging in a draught of rare old vintage; he makes his reader drunk with music; he fairly intoxicates with the richness of his song. It is impossible steadfastly to peruse such poetry; it cloys with too much melody. His finest verses are exquisitely sweet and tender, and possess a native birdlike quality that goes straight to the heart. Keats lived in a world of the past. He moved amid a troop of fantastic shadows half human, half divine, god and goddess, faun and satyr, nymph and hamadryad, until to him the unreal became the real, and "the thing that was not as the thing that was." He was bewildered in the mazes of his own imaginings; there he ranged like an uncurbed steed; yet nothing passed from under his hand that did not bear the magic impress which sealed it "a joy forever." It was a favorite idea of Goethe that what once has gladdened us can never afterward be wholly lost out of our life; so the spirit of beauty, unconsciously imbibed by Keats, grew with his growth until it found expression in other beauty, and "blossomed in delight."

His history is a melancholy one, and as a victim of literary assassination through political and personal malice it is small wonder that he was spoken of in his own day as "poor Keats." That the poet was unfavorably affected by the virulent at-

tacks which were made upon his verse has been denied, as impeaching the robustness of his character. Yet it can scarcely be doubted that such was the mental and physical condition of the poet that the germs of disease, already latent in his constitution, were rapidly developed into activity by the suffering and disappointment he must have experienced through the injustice done to his work, as well as through his unhappy love. Shelley believed that this was so, and he certainly could not have been ignorant of the facts in the case. Taking place in literature beside those earlier and incomparable masters of song, Chaucer and Spenser, Keats in some respects seems as remote from the present time as they; yet it is little more than an old man's lifetime since an awkward, bashful youth, he sought the entrance to Hazlitt's lecture room or made his memorable journey to Scotland, Devonshire, and the Isle of Wight.

Of humble parentage, John Keats first saw the light of the natural day in London, October 29, or 31 (it is not determined which), 1795, at the house of his grandfather, who kept a large livery stable on the Pavement in Moorfields. The boy's health was always fragile, for he had been a seven-months' child, and his birth is said to have been prematurely hastened by his mother's intense love of pleasure, though in his earlier years his constitution presented but little indication of the peculiar debility attendant upon such cases. He was one of five children. Edward dying in infancy, and during his boyhood, which was spent at a good, second-class school, seems to have been notable chiefly for his warm attachment to fistic encounters. He possessed, however, an extreme facility in getting through the daily tasks of school, which seemed to make no great demand upon his attention, yet in which he never lagged behind the others. His easy skill in all manly exercises, and the complete ingenuousness of his disposition, rendered him very popular.

After remaining some time at school his intellectual ambition seemed suddenly to develop. He had been a leader in athletic sports; he now determined to capture the first prize in literature, and in this he was successful. The son of his tutor, a Mr. Clarke, of Enfield, discovered and encouraged the poetical faculty in the young poet, whom he introduced to Leigh Hunt. Hunt was ever after the warm friend of Keats, whom

the elder poet undoubtedly brought to the notice of the public. Indeed, Hunt was to Keats what Schiller was to Körner. Our poet left school "with little Latin and less Greek." The twelve books of the "Æneid" probably constituted the limits of his Latin excursions. His acquaintance with the Greek mythology, which he afterward employed to such splendid purpose, was derived mainly from Lemprière's *Dictionary*, a volume which has not yet been superseded by some modern works of a more pretentious kind. The parents of Keats both died while he was young. His portion of the property left by them amounted to nearly two thousand pounds. It would seem that this should have sufficed to preserve the poet from financial difficulties for some time; yet we learn of his having been obliged to secure pecuniary aid almost immediately after attaining his majority. But it ought to be noted here that Keats was of a generous nature, and his purse was ever open to his friends, some of whom did not scruple to avail themselves of his free-handedness.

Just after leaving school, without his wishes having been consulted in the matter, he was apprenticed by his guardian to a surgeon at Edmonton, where Mr. Cowden Clark became his neighbor and friend. Mr. Clark introduced him to the poet, Hon. William Robert Spencer, whose writings at once exerted a most powerful and lasting effect on the plastic mind of the younger man. Chaucer was his next passion, and for a brief period he seems to have taken not a little pleasure in the stormy and lurid lines of Lord Byron. But Edmund Spenser opened to Keats a new poetic world, and he went racing through "The Faerie Queene" like a colt newly turned to pasture. Indeed, an early—if not quite the earliest—attempt of Keats at verse-making was an imitation of Spenser in the peculiar stanzaic form which was the invention of the latter poet, and to which his name has been given. In 1817 Keats, having just then come of age, published his first volume of poems, which exhibited unmistakable signs of promise and, to the unprejudiced reader, some actual performance. His most valuable acquisition in consequence of this venture was the acquaintance and friendship of Shelley, Haydon, Godwin, Basil Montagu, Hazlitt, and a few others of literary reputation and eminence. His political views were manly and inde-

pendent, and Leigh Hunt was known to be his friend. These were sins which never could be forgiven by the *Quarterly Review*. In that partisan publication literary judgment and preferment were invariably meted out according to political congeniality of sentiments. Its writers were both servile and scurrilous, and with them a new author like Keats was but a foil for their bigotry and literary charlatanism. He was comparatively friendless and unknown, and even had he appealed to the public he could hardly have attracted notice, since he was yet but an obscure maker of verses not at all in the prevailing vogue. Hence, Gifford, the editor of the *Quarterly*, vented his spleen upon his inoffensive victim, conscious of immunity amid it all, since the object of his attack could no more than turn upon him as the worm turns beneath the foot that crushes it. A scion of the nobility, infected with *cacoethes scribendi*, might have scribbled the veriest nonsense and been certain of flattery and applause; but a singular genius, brilliant as singular, springing up of its own vitality in an out-of-the-way corner, was by all means to be extinguished. Gifford had formerly been a cobbler, and the son of the livery stable keeper was not worthy his critical sufferance. Thus it is ever with those narrow-minded persons who, by the power or caprice of accident, rise from a vulgar obscurity into the public view; they never can tolerate a brother in good fortune, much less superior force or talents in that brother.

On the publication of Keats's next work, "Endymion," Gifford attacked it with all the bitterness of which his pen was capable, and did not hesitate, before he saw the poem, to announce to the publisher his fell intention. Keats had endeavored, as much as was consistent with honesty and independence, to conciliate the critics at large, as may be observed in the brief preface to "Endymion." It seems almost incredible, at the present stage of literary progress, that such a swash-buckling style of criticism as that indulged in by *Blackwood's* and the *Quarterly Review* should have passed current with any respectable portion of an enlightened public; and to their credit be it said that here and there generous voices were raised, the kindly utterances of which must have been as balm to the hurts of the young poet's soul. He merited to be treated with lenity, not wounded with the envenomed shafts of political animosity for

errors of literary taste which time was certain to correct. Of intense sensitiveness, and his frame already touched by a mortal distemper, he felt that his hopes were blighted and his attempts to obtain honorable public notice frustrated. Some years ago an article appeared in the *North British Review* in which the writer sought to prove that the critiques in the *Quarterly* had exerted no influence whatever in inducing the fatal disease by which Keats's earthly career was so early terminated. In more recent articles from various pens, celebrating the centennial of the birth of Keats, the same views have been advanced. But Chambers, alluding to the "Endymion," says:

> The poem was criticised in a strain of contemptuous severity by the *Quarterly Review;* and such was the sensitiveness of the young poet panting for distinction, and flattered by a few private friends, that the critique embittered his existence and induced a fatal disease.

And this is the testimony of Shelley in the days long before the present log-rolling set of London would have rendered such witness unnecessary, if not impossible:

> The first effects are described to me to have resembled insanity, and it was by assiduous watching that he was restrained from effecting purposes of suicide. The agony of his sufferings at length produced the rupture of a blood vessel in the lungs, and the usual process of consumption appears to have begun.

Shelley's fearful arraignment of Gifford in the prefatory note to "Adonais" lends additional emphasis to the foregoing words. Lord Byron, alluding to Keats in the eleventh canto of "Don Juan," says:

> Poor fellow! his was an untoward fate:
> 'Tis strange the mind, that very fiery particle,
> Should let itself be snuff'd out by an article.

Keats's book abounded with passages of rarest beauty and truest poetry, and it is difficult to decide whether the cowardice or the cruelty of the attack most deserves execration. The following lines, taken from the poem almost at random, represent Endymion as wandering in semi-madness through the underworld, and there coming unexpectedly upon the sleeping Adonis:

> After a thousand mazes overgone,
> At last, with sudden step, he came upon
> A chamber, myrtle-walled, embower'd high,
> Full of light, incense, tender minstrelsy,

And more of beautiful and strange beside:
For on a silken couch of rosy pride,
In midst of all, there lay a sleeping youth
Of fondest beauty; fonder, in fair sooth,
Than sighs could fathom, or contentment reach;
And coverlids gold-tinted like the peach,
Or ripe October's faded marigolds,
Fell sleek about him in a thousand folds—
Not hiding up an Apollonian curve
Of neck and shoulder, nor the tenting swerve
Of knee from knee, nor ankles pointing light;
But rather giving them to the fill'd sight
Officiously. Sideway his face reposed
On one white arm, and tenderly unclosed,
By tenderest pressure, a faint damask mouth
To slumbering pout; just as the morning south
Disparts a dew-lipp'd rose. . . . Hard by
Stood serene cupids watching silently.
One, kneeling to a lyre, touched the strings,
Muffling to death the pathos with his wings,
And, ever and anon, uprose to look
At the youth's slumber; while another took
A willow bough, distilling odorous dew,
And shook it on his hair; another flew
In through the woven roof, and fluttering-wise
Rain'd violets upon his sleeping eyes.

The following stanzas from "The Eve of St. Agnes" are distinctly in advance of the previous quotation, both in manner and power of expression. Keats progressed in his art to the very period of his "taking off."

Out went the taper as she hurried in;
Its little smoke, in pallid moonshine, died:
She closed the door, she panted all akin
To spirits of the air, and visions wide:
No uttered syllable, or, woe betide!
But to her heart, her heart was voluble,
Paining with eloquence her balmy side;
As though a tongueless nightingale should swell
Her throat in vain, and die, heart stifled, in her dell.

A casement high and triple-arch'd there was,
All garlanded with carven imageries
Of fruits, and flowers, and bunches of knot-grass,
And diamonded with panes of quaint device,
Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes,
As are the tiger moth's deep-damask'd wings;
And in the midst 'mong thousand heraldries,
And twilight saints, and dim emblazonings,
A shielded scutcheon blush'd with blood of queens and kings.

One of Keats's latest essays in poetry was the stately but incomplete "Hyperion." For powerful word-painting, gloomy grandeur of conception, and the self-poised, almost weird, skill with which the entire picture is produced stroke by stroke, it would be difficult to match the selection which follows:

> Deep in the shady sadness of a vale,
> Far sunken from the healthy breath of morn,
> Far from the fiery noon, and eve's one star,
> Sat gray-hair'd Saturn, quiet as a stone,
> Still as the silence round about his lair;
> Forest on forest hung about his head
> Like cloud on cloud. No stir of air was there,
> Not so much life as on a summer's day
> Robs not one light seed from the feather'd grass,
> But where the dead leaf fell, there did it rest.
> A stream went voiceless by, still deadened more
> By reason of his fallen divinity
> Spreading a shade: the naiad, 'mid her reeds,
> Press'd her cold finger closer to her lips.
> Along the margin-sand large footmarks went,
> No further than to where his feet had stray'd,
> And slept there since. Upon the sodden ground
> His old right hand lay nerveless, listless, dead,
> Unsceptered; and his realmless eyes were closed;
> While his bow'd head seemed list'ning to the earth,
> His ancient mother, for some comfort yet.

Lord Byron, who justly regarded the death of Keats as a loss to English literature, said of the poem from which the foregoing lines are taken: "His fragment of 'Hyperion' seems actually inspired by the Titans, and is as sublime as Æschylus." Space will not permit the quotation of the subtly beautiful "Ode to the Nightingale." The intense sympathy with the great deep which seemed to possess the young poet has probably been experienced in equal degree by but one other "builder of lofty rhyme"—namely, Swinburne. This sonnet stands in evidence of the manner in which Keats could write of the sea:

> It keeps eternal whisperings around
> Desolate shores, and with its mighty swell
> Gluts twice ten thousand caverns, till the spell
> Of Hecate leaves them their old shadowy sound.
> Often 'tis in such gentle temper found
> That scarcely will the very smallest shell
> Be moved for days from where it sometime fell
> When last the winds of heaven were unbound.

O, ye who have your eyeballs vexed and tired,
Feast them upon the wideness of the sea;
O, ye whose ears are dimmed with uproar rude,
Or fed too much with cloying melody,
Sit ye near some old cavern's mouth and brood
Until ye start, as if the sea nymphs quired.

Perhaps no other poet, save Goethe, has ever obtained such immediate entrance into the lovely and precious arcana of nature. To the eye of Keats nature unveiled her most secret charm. Let it not for a moment be believed that his extraordinary gift was but the result of an abnormal and morbid habit of sensation. Genius, whatever the forms it may assume, not seldom reaches its rarest perfection where common life is most dreary and inane. Read the riddle, ye who can. It has been said that Keats's friendships were always founded on a slight and unsubstantial basis, that his own nature was so pre-eminently selfish and his every aspiration so self-involved, that every friendship was rendered precarious which he ever formed. Schiller, in a letter to Körner, said, "O how beautiful and divine is the union of two souls which meet on their way to the Godhead!" The whole story of Keats's life determines that he felt no less the potency of a genuine friendship; otherwise it were passing strange that he should have been able to knit to himself with bands stronger than steel such a man as Severn, who, through all that prolonged tragedy of the poet's final sufferings, proved the ultimate possibilities of human devotion. In a letter to a friend Keats says:

We cannot expect to give away many hours to pleasure; circumstances are like clouds, continually gathering and bursting while we are laughing. The seed of trouble is put into the wide arable land of events; while we are laughing at sprouts it grows, and suddenly bears a poisonous fruit, which we must pluck. Even so we have leisure to reason on the misfortunes of our friends; our own touch us too nearly for words.

Here appear those rigid habits of introspection practiced by every great mind, but not that self-centering of the impulses of love so destructive of every gracious emotion. The poet well knew the value of a human soul:

That man is more than half of nature's treasure,
Of that fair beauty which no eye can see,
Of that sweet music which no ear can measure.

About two years before the death of Keats the one great event of his life began—his love affair. A new phase is now discovered in the character of the poet, flatly contradicting those who have denied that he was capable of intense passion, thereby depriving all future works he might have produced, had he lived, of the force and substance which the works he has left us do not possess. In his letters, edited by Milnes, and published many years ago, we obtain a few distinct and vivid glimpses of the object of his desires. He writes to his sister:

> She is not a Cleopatra, but at least a Charmian; she has a rich Eastern look, she has fine eyes and manners. When she comes into the room she makes the same impression as the beauty of a leopardess; she is too fine and conscious of herself to repulse any man that may address her; from habit she thinks that *nothing particular:* I always find myself more at ease with such a woman.
>
> She is a fine thing, speaking in a worldly way, for there are two distinct tempers of mind in which we judge of things—the worldly, theatrical, pantomimical, and the unearthly, spiritual, and ethereal. In the former, Bonaparte, Lord Byron, and the Charmian hold the first place in our minds; in the latter, John Howard, Bishop Hooker, rocking his child's cradle, and you, my dear sister, are the conquering feelings. As a man of the world I love the rich talk of a Charmian; as an eternal being I love the thought of you. I should like her to ruin me, and I should like you to save me.

This concluding sentence, though sounding very much like nonsense, is nevertheless not unimportant. It is obvious that when Keats wrote it the first alternative would have seemed preferable to the second. Indeed, his subsequent story shows beyond question that the "worldly, theatrical, pantomimical" decidedly outweighed, in the poet's practical estimation, the "unearthly, spiritual, and ethereal." This "Charmian," whatever the fair qualities of mind and heart of which she may have been possessed, soon brought into captivity the profoundest impulses of her lover's nature, simply by the peculiar character of her personal attractions. Nor does it appear that Fanny Brawne scorned the advances of the ardent poet, though she seems to have been far from experiencing toward him an equal fervor of devotion. She was not inconsolable at his loss, and after his pitiful death duly settled down to the duties of a commonplace English housewife. It is almost a sarcasm of destiny that she has been preserved from oblivion alone by her associa-

tion with the hectic, passionate, and querulous young man whose memory she evidently held in slight regard.

It may not be uninteresting to here set in juxtaposition marriage views so entirely dissimilar as those of Schiller and Keats. In a letter to a friend Schiller said:

I must marry—that is settled. All my inducements to life and activity are worn out; this is the only one which I have not tried. I must have a being near me which belongs to me, which I can and must make happy. You know how desolate is my spirit, how melancholy my ideas. If I cannot weave hope into my existence—hope which has almost deserted me—if I cannot wind up anew the run-down machinery of my thoughts and feelings, it will soon all be over with me.

Keats, whos esentiments at one time were the direct antitheses of Schiller's, wrote to a newly married brother in America:

Notwithstanding your happiness and your recommendations, I hope I shall never marry. Though the most beautiful creature were waiting for me at the end of a journey or walk, though the carpet were made of silk and the curtain of the morning clouds, the chairs and sofas stuffed with eygnet's down, the food manna, the wine beyond claret, the window opening on Windemere, I should not feel, or rather my happiness should not be so fine; and my solitude is sublime. Then, instead of what I have described, there is a sublimity to welcome me home; the roaring of the wind is my wife, the stars through my window-panes are my children. The mighty abstract idea of beauty in all things I have stifles the more divided and minute domestic happiness. An amiable wife and sweet children I contemplate as parts of that beauty, but I must have a thousand of those beautiful particles to fill up my heart. I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens, that I do not live in this world alone, but in a thousand worlds. . . . Those things, combined with the opinion I have formed of the quality of women, who appear to me as children, to whom I would rather give a sugarplum than my time, form a barrier against matrimony which I rejoice in.

That Keats completely revised his judgments in the particulars of which this letter treats, the quotations previously presented abundantly prove. The following lines, addressed to Mr. J. K. Reynolds before the time the "Charmian" fever overtook him, and when his health was already failing, also denote that Keats's views of the subject had undergone a change:

One of the first pleasures I look to is your happy marriage, the more so since I have felt the pleasure of loving a sister-in-law. I did not think it possible to become so much attached in so short a time; things like

these, and they are real, have made me resolve to have a care of my health.

Of the religious sentiments of the poet not much needs to be written. In one of his letters he thus meditates:

Though a quarrel in the streets is a thing to be hated, the energies displayed in it are fine; the commonest man shows a grace in his quarrel. By a superior being our reasonings may take the same tone; though erroneous, they may be fine.

On one occasion he falls into the vulgar impiety of juxtaposing our Saviour and Socrates. That the mind of Keats was in a transitional state is evident. Through all his spiritual mutations appear an earnestness of purpose and an unbaffled groping after a high and fleeting ideal, lovely glimpses of which have been flashed upon his inner vision. In another letter he says:

I have, of late, been molting—not for fresh feathers and wings; they are gone, and in their stead I hope to have a pair of sublunary legs. I have altered—not from a chrysalis into a butterfly, but the contrary. . . . A year ago I could not understand in the slightest degree Raphael's cartoons; now I begin to read them a little. . . . Some think I have lost that poetic fire and ardor I once had; the fact is, I perhaps have, but instead of that I hope I shall substitute a more thoughtful and quiet power.

Though the poetry of Keats is mainly objective in its character, and as such exhibits the most minute and careful observation, he did not lack those prolonged and profound inward searchings which prove to the serious and inquiring mind of how much greater interest is the esoteric than the exoteric world. The sonnet here presented reveals the undaunted and undefeated self-examinations of a courageous spirit:

Why did I laugh to-night? no voice will tell,
No God, no demon of severe response
Deigns to reply from heaven or from hell;
Then to my human heart I turn at once—
Heart! thou and I are here, sad and alone;
I say, wherefore did I laugh?—O mortal pain!
O! darkness! darkness! ever must I moan
To question heaven and hell and heart in vain—
Why did I laugh? I know this being's lease
My fancy to its utmost blisses spreads,
Yet could I on this very midnight cease,
And the world's gaudy ensigns see in shreds;
Verse, fame, and beauty are intense indeed,
But death intenser, death is life's high meed.

The following extract from still another letter will illustrate the passionate, almost rapturous, pleasure he experienced in the composition of his works. He says:

> This morning poetry has conquered. I have relapsed into those abstractions which are my only life. I feel escaped from a new and threatening sorrow; and am thankful for it. There is an awful warmth about my heart like a load of immortality.

Of the poetical character he observes:

> It has as much delight in conceiving an Iago as an Imogene. What shocks the virtuous philosopher delights the chameleon poet. . . . A poet is the most unpoetical of anything in existence, because he has no identity; he is continually in for and filling some other body. The sun, the moon, the sea, and men and women, who are creatures of an impulse, are poetical, and have about them an unchangeable attribute; the poet has none; no identity; he is certainly the most unpoetical of all God's creatures.

That Keats was not a finished writer must, perhaps, be conceded; but that, like Körner, the poet-hero of Germany, he gave rich promise of a glorious fruitage will be granted. And they must indeed be poor judges of literature who are not delighted with what he has left.

A few words as to the temperament and personal appearance of the poet. His temper, until just before his death, always was of the gentlest description. It has already been remarked that he was a person of strong and irritable sensibilities, and so extreme was his sensitiveness that he would betray emotion even to tears on hearing of a noble action, or at the expression of a glowing thought or one of pathetic tenderness; yet both his moral and physical courage were above suspicion. The physiognomy of the poet was indicative of his character. Sensibility was predominant, but there was no lack of power in the somewhat pugnacious nose and mouth. His features were clearly defined, and delicately susceptible of every impression. His eyes were large and shadowy, his cheeks hollow and sunken, and his face pallid in repose. His hair was brown in color, and curled naturally. His head was small, and set upon broad, high shoulders, his body was long and abnormally large in proportion to his lower limbs, which, however, were not unshapely. His stature was low; and "his hands," says Leigh Hunt, "were faded, having prominent veins, which he would look upon and

pronounce to belong to one who had seen fifty years." "There is death in that hand," said Coleridge, after having clasped the hand of Keats.

For several years before his demise the poet had felt disease creeping upon him, and knew that death was already busy in a system too imperfectly organized. He had imprudently neglected his own health to attend a dying brother, when he should have remembered it was also necessary to take care of himself. He was combating the keenness of his sorrow consequent upon his bereavement by the decease of his brother, when the Zoilus of the *Quarterly* attacked him, adding new pain to his already overwrought spirit, so that he told a friend one day, with tears, that "his heart was breaking." He was at length induced to try the climate of Italy. Thither he went to die. He was accompanied in his weakness by Severn, his valuable and attached friend and an artist of considerable talent. They first went to Naples, thence journeying to Rome, where Keats closed his eyes on this world February 24, 1821, being a little more than twenty-five years of age. He eagerly wished for death, and shortly before he died he said he "felt the daisies growing over him." "He suffered so much in his lingering," says Leigh Hunt, "that he used to watch the countenance of his physician for the favorable and fatal sentence, and express regret when he found it delayed." His remains were deposited in the cemetery of the Protestants at Rome, at the foot of the pyramid of Caius Cestius, near the Porta San Paolo. "It might make one in love with death," wrote Shelley, "to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place." A white marble tombstone, bearing a lyre, in *basso relievo*, and the following inscription—the closing words of which were his own—has been erected to his memory:

This grave contains all that was mortal of a Young English Poet, who on his death bed, in the bitterness of his heart at the malicious power of his enemies, desired these words to be engraved on his tombstone: "Here lies one whose name was writ in water." Feb. 24th, 1821.

James B. Kenyon.

Art. III.—AFTER CAPITALISM, WHAT?

That the Creator of man and of the world ever intended such glaring inequalities of social condition as have become a feature of our times is a proposition which healthy minds may well treat with scant courtesy. Yet, strange to say, while freely acknowledging ourselves to be "miserable offenders," because of our virtual consent to the present inequitable system of distributing the good things of this life, we go on and do just about the same as before the confession was made. But the fact is, in the case of most of us, that we cannot help ourselves. We cannot find an adequate remedy for the disease which is preying upon society, and the well-grounded fear is in our hearts that we dare not intrust the cure to any of the would-be reformers whose mutually destructive schemes have served only to accentuate the evil by fomenting the popular discontent to dangerous extremes.

The present writer is neither the discoverer nor the vender of any new specific for social maladies. That a solution of present perplexing problems will be found is morally certain. That capital will be tamed and educated into a better service of the common good, and that honest industry will not be denied the privilege of earning a comfortable support, are desirable fruits which will come to ripeness much earlier if the parties immediately interested can be led out of the smoke and din of present wasting conflicts to reason together and clearly distinguish friends from foes. Until the real solution of these grave questions shall appear above the horizon, the most useful service that most of us can render our generation may be to mitigate, as far as possible, the hardships of present industrial and social conditions—just as Christian commissions have labored first to prevent needless wars and then to stanch the flow of blood and minister every possible comfort to the victims of ambition, greed, and cruelty. It is in this spirit that the following observations are offered by one who has witnessed too many of the dire effects of selfish capitalism to become its apologist, while profoundly realizing the need of doing it justice for whatever of direct or incidental benefits it has conferred upon mankind.

When gamblers sit down to play for the stakes piled up between them, it is evident that none of the party can gain anything except at the expense of the others. The folly, not to say the criminality, of the proceeding is that time and effort are expended, not in the production of wealth, but in putting to the hazard of play what each one already possesses, so that by this unwarranted and inequitable method of distribution some one of them or more must be impoverished to confer wealth upon others. The transaction differs from highway robbery chiefly in the fact that the parties have agreed to an arrangement by which chance is to decide which shall be the robber and which the victim. Such an award cannot in the nature of things be satisfactory. An aptitude for acquiring wealth in this way is not to be set down among either the economic or the moral virtues. If, however, the same number of men should form a partnership to found a new and needed industry which should give employment to labor and add something to the world's wealth, who does not see—in the abstract, at least—that such men are to be classed among the benefactors of the race? However defective the plan of distribution may be in the latter case, it cannot approach the former in lack of equity and economic quality. The parties are the creators of the wealth which they divide, and the usual plan of distribution is one which benefits all and impoverishes none. It is matter of profound concern that our whole industrial scheme—in the confusion of thought that has fallen upon the many—seems scarcely to be distinguished from a gambling operation in which one party must lose whatever the other party gains. The originator of a great business, the "captain of industry," is according to this view nothing more than a pirate or robber baron, against whom it is the duty of all good citizens to unite. The notion that the prosperous elements of society have acquired their wealth by the spoliation of the needy, and that the rich man is the natural enemy of the poor, has entered deep into the convictions of very many, and until it is uprooted there can be no industrial or social peace and no working together for the common good.

It seems never to have dawned upon some minds that a man may grow rich, not only without injustice, but to the positive and great advantage of his fellow-beings; and that, by

reason of exceptional endowments, he may become a real creator of wealth both for himself and others, and thus stand in the same helpful relation to industry as do the writers of valuable books to literature, or as the discoverers of Nature's important secrets do to science. Those who contend for a common level of social condition as the ideal state have not yet been able to explain why Nature has not followed the rule of absolute equality in the bestowment of her other choice gifts. She seems to be guilty of real preferences, and her method is not satisfactory to a certain class of minds; indeed, upon their hypothesis it would seem to be both unnatural and unjust. It appears to be Nature's way to kindle great lights in the souls of the few for the illumination of the many. She has given the world just one Homer and one Shakespeare in the course of the ages. These, and a few other sons of genius, may be said to represent the "robber barons" of our literature. They tower above their fellows in honor and importance, and the multiplying ages cannot wither their fame nor reduce them to the common level. Has Nature erred in the creation of a race of intellectual princes? Or will it be contended that the world would be better off without them? Once let it be granted that Nature may bless the world by giving it a few great poets, a few great orators, a few great musicians, and it then seems not unreasonable that she may also confer blessing by creating a class of men whose special function it shall be to augment the world's wealth by discovering its secret in the mines and in the soil, and by the inception of vast manufacturing interests impossible to ordinary minds. A majority of the millionaires among us began life in poverty, and it may be safely asserted that none of them has raised himself to his present conspicuous height without at the same time lifting anywhere from a score to a thousand of his fellow-beings into better conditions than they were in when their association with him began. Nothing is more common, however, than to hear employees who have contributed only muscular effort to a great business speak of themselves as the creators of wealth, which is evermore going past them into the pockets of others who are not entitled to it. No more pernicious fallacy was ever instilled into the human mind than the dogma that the world's wealth is derived in all essential features from physical effort. Yet this postulate is the

foundation principle on which political parties have sought the control both of state and national governments. The same doctrine taints not a little of the current literature of the day. Editorials, lectures, and formidable volumes not wanting in vigor of thought or power of statement are devoted to the doctrine that wealth may acknowledge but one parent, and his name is Labor. This contention, carried to its logical conclusion, heaps upon poverty, all unwittingly, a reproach which it does not deserve, and which might well lead the poor to pray for deliverance from such friends. It makes poverty a scandal and a shame. For, if labor may accomplish single-handed all that is claimed for it, no man can remain poor without personal discredit. If, however, there are other essential factors in the production of wealth—factors which must take the initiative, lay the plans, carry the risks, bear the losses, and give direction to labor at every step—it is nothing short of misleading and criminal folly to teach that the latter alone, or chiefly, may rightfully claim the ownership of the world's wealth.

"I shall be thankful henceforth, for the rest of my days, to the man who gives me employment and pays me regular wages," said a personal friend to the writer some time ago. He spoke out of a disappointing and disillusionizing experience in business management. As boy and man he had grown up with a manufacturing interest. As a wage-earner in that establishment he had saved money. He determined to set up for himself in the same line. "I have more capital than my employer had when he began, and a better knowledge of the business," he remarked. All this promised well, but it did not guarantee success. He had worked faithfully before, he became a slave to business now; yet he achieved only failure. He borrowed money and began again, only to fail a second time. He then returned to the ranks of the wage-earners, not only thankful for employment, but with a conviction, new to him, that a talent for managing is as much an essential of industrial enterprise as fidelity in toil, and that without the one the other is practically helpless. The world's debt is real, and far too much unrecognized, to the creators of enterprises which give employment to great numbers of men—men who are able to perform certain daily tasks, yet wholly incapable of initiative and original action, whether for themselves or for others. We have in mind

a sleepy little village whose inhabitants for many years had been in a chronic condition of inactivity and poverty. A youth, born in that village and left an orphan, drifted into an enterprising community many miles away in search of employment. Here he became acquainted with coal and iron mining. Returning after some years to visit his native place, he discovered that the adjacent hills contained minerals of value, but found it impossible in that community to enlist the capital for the enterprise he desired to set on foot. He went elsewhere for assistance, and presently returned with partners who authorized him to open up some mines and build a furnace. In a couple of years the drowsy village was transformed into a thriving, enterprising town, where hundreds of men found employment at good wages. Men who formerly had been glad to get a dollar a day for an occasional day's work now had constant employment at twice or thrice their former rates of pay, and seemed to be reasonably sensible of their improved condition. Then came the agitator with the information that the enterprising young operator was a "robber baron." He was "exploiting" his fellow-townsmen and growing rich upon their sweat and toil. The striking mania was communicated to the workmen like a contagion. They became utterly unreasonable. All attempts at adjustment failed, and the works were at length shut down. The company, not yet reimbursed for its large outlay, was forced into bankruptcy. A blight fell on the whole community and abides on it still. Again, Hargreaves, the inventor of the spinning jenny, was counted a public enemy, his house was broken into by a mob, and his machine was destroyed. Nor could he get justice in the courts of that day. History, however, delights to write his name high up in the list of the world's real benefactors, notwithstanding the fact that his own generation spurned his invention and allowed him to die in poverty. His fellow-workmen were his worst enemies. The head and front of his offending was that his inventive genius enabled him to spin more yarn, and, therefore, to earn more money, than his neighbors.

Is it any higher motive than this which leads so many misguided people in our day to look with an evil eye on the enterprising creators of wealth, and to visit them as a class with sweeping, indiscriminate condemnation? Perhaps no industrial

chief of our times has been more bitterly denounced than George M. Pullman, the man who popularized, if he did not invent, the sleeping car. What invention has done more to rid railway travel of its discomfort and to make long journeys possible even to invalids? In addition to providing this real comfort for the weary, Mr. Pullman's idea may be regarded as a just and honorable device for distributing the wealth of the rich and well-to-do classes among the poor, since it is the former who chiefly use these cars, while the latter find employment by the thousand in building and taking care of them on the road. Granted that Mr. Pullman is not an ideal employer of labor, it may still be well to hesitate to class him among the enemies of the poor, as we are asked to do by men who themselves have done but little to provide employment for others. It would be interesting if the history of all the thousands who have been in the employ of Mr. Pullman could be known, their manner of life and rate of wages before their association with him began, and also to what extent they have bettered their condition since leaving his service. So of all the other great creators of employment for the poor. It is only fair to take a passing glance at the class of employers represented by the late George W. Childs—a millionaire whose aim it was to illustrate the golden rule in all his dealings with his fellow-men, and to prove that this principle is not incompatible with business success. He took hold of a tottering business and placed it on a stable foundation. He paid more than the market rate of wages, and refused to reduce wages even when asked to do so by his own employees, who had become fearful that he was dividing profits with too generous a hand. His care for the sick and aged and his great gifts to public institutions are among the bright, redeeming facts in the business history of our generation. But could Mr. Childs have blessed his fellow-men in these various ways if, with all his generous impulses, he had lacked the faculty of acquisition or had been denied the right of exercising it? The true concern is not, as some insist, whether one man is richer than another in this country, but whether the dependent laborer incapable of self-help is injured or benefited by the presence of the enterprising capitalist in his community.

Observation teaches us that the most pitiful poverty is not where labor finds regular employment, even at low wages, but

in those regions not yet invaded by the capitalist; where no intelligent effort has been put forth to cultivate the soil or to develop its mineral wealth. Yet the condition of the most backward and poverty-pinched communities of our own land is princely compared with that of the common people in the unenterprising countries of the Orient, where inventive genius is wanting and no industrial captain arises to furnish the many with employment. A fact which seems to have all the force and majesty of a great natural law may be stated thus: "No millionaires, no prosperity for the common people." It is just here that we touch the secret of the general failure of cooperative industries. A few years ago cooperation was a word to conjure with. It promised to furnish a solvent for all the difficulties that had formerly existed between employer and employee. But never were human hopes more grievously disappointed. No industrial theory is more attractive to the uninitiated, and nothing is easier to the romantic, undisciplined mind than to construct a scheme—on paper—by which every working-man shall become both capitalist and manager, or shall have a voice in the management of the business which yields him his daily bread. Such schemes have, in general, not been able to pay even common wages to labor, and their lease of life has been short. The difficulty of cooperation is the difficulty of the whole industrial situation—the inevitable conflict between the capable, managing mind and the low ideals of the average man, strong only in his jealousy and self-will. In the conduct of a great business, as in the fighting of a great battle, there are unforeseen emergencies which must be met and provided for in an instant. There is no time for parley and debate in either case; and, even if there were, the fact remains that it was not the wisdom of councils of war that made the names of Cæsar, Napoleon, and Grant illustrious. Nor can any business be a success whose every movement must be submitted to and command the assent of the average man. The case is little better where the management is committed for a given term to a single controlling mind. The initial difficulty is in securing the right man. The costly and shameful misgovernment of American cities is the monumental proof that a popular election does not always put the right man in the right place. The evidence is painfully abundant that men scantily dowered with brains, and

near to bankruptcy in character, can get the suffrages of their fellow-men for business positions of vast responsibility. While human nature remains human nature it will probably be found impossible to keep this kind of "politics" out of cooperative enterprises.

"Profit-sharing" has made a better record, and gives more promise for the future, than cooperation. It is founded on the true economic principle which recognizes the essential partnership of all the men engaged in the prosecution of an industrial enterprise. Its superiority over cooperation lies in the fact that it leaves the management of a business concern with its originator or owner, while it gives to the humblest laborer a share—over and above his stipulated wages—of whatever profits the enterprise may earn. The attempts already made in the direction of profit-sharing have been, for the most part, crude and merely tentative, but are on the whole encouraging. They have served to bring to light both the strength and the weakness of the idea on which they are founded. They do not satisfy incapable or unreasonable men, and they emphasize the truism that there is no substitute for character and intelligence. Several difficult problems connected with profit-sharing remain yet to be settled. Among these is the old question of the relative value of mind and muscle, or in what proportion each shall share in the profits of a successful business. Another, and perhaps still more obstinate, question is the relation of the wage-earner to a losing business. It is a well-known fact that a large proportion of business ventures earn no profits at all, some of them involving their projectors in utter ruin. A partnership which becomes actual only when there are profits to divide is as unreal and unethical as it is uneconomic. To be worthy of the name a partnership must be in some sense like a true marriage, "for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer." Denounce as we may the view which regards labor as a mere commodity to be bought and sold like any other, the fact remains that it can never be anything else than a commodity until it consents to a partnership which is real in the sense of sharing risks and losses, as well as honors and profits. This problem is not easy of solution, owing to the general unwillingness, not to say the inability, of labor to assume financial responsibility, or to forego any portion of its accustomed earnings. Labor, too, can be a Shylock

contending for its pound of flesh, when to take it is to take the life of a struggling business in the crisis of its fate. If it be contended that the wage-earner by reason of his poverty is compelled to be thus exacting, let it be borne in mind that labor frequently elects to forego its earnings for weeks and even months at a time in its quarrels with capital. We have personally known working-men, accustomed to good wages, while on a strike to support life for weeks together on corn meal and such berries as grew wild in the woods.

Such instances are not exceptional, and perhaps their chief redeeming feature is that they show how few and simple, after all, are the real necessities of existence; how senseless is the talk of the many about "starving labor;" and how cheerfully men undergo privations to serve even a desperate and doubtful cause to which they have devoted themselves. Profit-sharing is, perhaps, the best practicable solution now in sight of the industrial question. It is worthy of a fair trial. Let lawmaking bodies encourage or compel the recognition of this principle in the charters granted to corporations; and, on the other hand, let labor leaders educate their followers into a willingness to make a temporary, partial sacrifice of wages, upon occasion, to support a staggering business—just as they now frequently make a voluntary total surrender of wages to support a strike. In addition to this it is to be hoped that directors and managers will come ere long to realize the iniquity, the blistering shame, of ordering a reduction of wages in times of business depression while their own ample salaries and regular dividends are paid in full. Whenever a reduction of wages becomes necessary let it begin at the top; it will then encounter less opposition at the bottom.

It will also contribute somewhat to industrial and general peace if men can once be persuaded that absolute equality of income would do little to relieve the many who are the loudest complainers, if not the greatest sufferers, under the present *régime*. Says Mrs. Humphrey Ward in *Marcella:* "No; as I go about among these wage-earners the emphasis, do what I will, comes to lie less and less on possession, more and more on character. I go to two tenements in the same building. One is hell, the other is heaven. Why? Both belong to well-paid artisans with equal opportunities. Both, as far as I can see,

might have a decent and pleasant life of it. But one is a man, the other, with all his belongings, will soon be a vagabond."

Never were the changes more frequently rung than in these closing years of the nineteenth century on the words of Burns,

> Man's inhumanity to man
> Makes countless thousands mourn.

The truth of this sentiment is not open to challenge. Yet one is inclined to ask, What inhumanity practiced by man on his fellow-man is so dire in its blight, so cruel, so fatal, as the shameful execution which the gifted poet wrought on himself by his slavery to drink? When Mr. Powderly, as the head of the Knights of Labor in the earlier and better days of that organization, pointed out to its members that their worst enemy is not the capitalist but the saloonist, the poverty-pinched victims of the latter set up a howl of revolt from the labor leader. His overthrow may be said to have been determined from the time when he published and reiterated from many a platform his demonstration that two thirds of the liquor bill of the State of Pennsylvania was paid by the wage-earning class. This enormous sum rightly used, Mr. Powderly contended, would lift the poorest elements above the necessity of selling their labor in the cheapest market, and until this necessity was done away no strikes or other devices could keep up the rate of wages. A wholesome doctrine this, albeit decidedly unpalatable to many who needed it most.

To conclude. If we are alarmed at the rapid accumulation and concentration of wealth which distinguishes our times we may find comfort in watching the constantly swelling refluent streams by which this wealth is returning to the community at large. This is accomplished, first, by the breaking up of most of the great fortunes which men have for a time called their own. Chauncey M. Depew says: "My experience as an attorney and counsel for men of large wealth, with an unusual clientage of that sort, and of unusual number, for the past twenty-five years, has been that eight tenths of them lose their fortunes in their lifetime." Enormous sums also find their way back to the people and into the world's deepest need through those channels of organized benevolence which distinguish our generation above all others. The era of the capitalist

is also the era of the hospital, the asylum, the home for the aged, and of the school and college, which for the first time in the world's history have put a liberal education within easy reach of poor and rich alike. Yet it is evident that the vast and abiding benefits which have been conferred on this generation by philanthropists of the type of Peter Cooper, Philip Armour, George Peabody, and others would have been impossible if these men had lacked the power to create the wealth which they gave away.

It is not the purpose of this article to excuse the faults of men who have a genius for acquisition. They oftentimes seem strangely blind both to duty and opportunity. They are seldom either brotherly or benevolent. Many of them have a queer system of arithmetic, by which much of their wealth eludes the tax-collector. Their combinations to influence markets, courts, and legislatures are certainly not calculated to promote the general public welfare. But common observation teaches us that, despite his regretable blemishes, the millionaire employer of labor is everywhere in great demand. Communities bid against each other to secure him. His advent is hailed with joy, his departure is sincerely mourned. If he confers no benefits upon the general public and upon the wage-earning class in particular, why these popular demonstrations attendant upon his coming and going? Let us be consistent. In so far as the capitalist confers benefits, let those benefits be acknowledged. In so far as he is a criminal, let him be dealt with as other criminals.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the day is not far in the distance when no true son of industry shall find it either impossible or difficult to procure the employment necessary to earn his daily bread. In the meantime it may be the part of wisdom to distinguish more carefully than heretofore between those who help and those who hinder social progress; between the men who create profitable employment for the dependent poor and the men who in all their lives have given birth to nothing but "great swelling words."

Robt. F. Bishop

Art. IV.—CATHOLICITY.

A catholic mind is a continual source of pleasure, a catholic taste continually enjoys it. Narrow-mindedness is a curse wherever it exists, whether in the religious, scientific, literary, or æsthetic sphere, or in the world of social intercourse; whether it dwindles religion into a dogma, or science into a formula, or literature into a style, or art into a school, or morality into a maxim. The narrow mind is like a little pond, holding the image of the moon, that dreams the orb lies hidden in its shallow water; but, as it expands, the mind grows like a far-reaching sea, which knows, however great its bounds, that the "queen of night" dwells in the heaven above, and only throws upon its upturned face some passings of her splendor.

The catholic soul will endeavor to find out the relative truth of things and to measure the comparative worth of things, always believing for the best. It makes truth, and not error, the object of its search. The man of catholic mind will not pass unmeasured condemnation on a foreign faith before he has studied its history, or anathematize a scientific speculation before it is really understood. He will not rest in doubt or vague hypothesis; he will stoutly hold to the truth that he has found and live up to the highest that he knows. But he will dare to say with one who was a pioneer in the realm of philosophic truth, "I look upon truth as a divine ventriloquist, and I care not from what source the sounds are supposed to proceed if only the utterance be intelligible and clear." He might say, for instance, "I am a Protestant; but, if a Romanist has some grain of truth to give me, I will gladly make it mine. I am a Methodist; but, if a Baptist will open to my eyes a vision of moral beauty, I will repay him with my praise. Of what significance to me is it that others do not receive my truth? Shall I not receive theirs? Shall the ignobleness of another make me less noble, or his weakness make me less strong?"

There are some things that we cannot afford to do—to act meanly to a mean man, to be unjust to a cruel antagonist, or to be uncharitable to a single soul. We must be large-hearted even to the narrow-minded. This is the struggle of the upward life, to be just, magnanimous, honorable, and true. It

may be very much more convenient to be a sectary or a partisan because it suits the natural indolence of the mind and the selfishness of the natural disposition; but, if we aspire to be worthy of the name of "Christian," we shall not spare ourselves the effort, the weariness, or the pain of thought, that we may at last attain "the lofty table-lands" of light and love and power whereof our "God himself is sun and moon."

But the questions come to us: "Is this ideal entirely consistent with the calling of a Methodist preacher? Is not his outlook upon the world of thought necessarily restricted by the peculiar limitations of his profession, and is not his range of vision yet more restricted by his denominational relations? Must he not contract his sympathies, and narrow his human interests and associations, and forswear catholicity, or be a failure in his distinctive mission?" What is to be rightly said in reply? This, as it appears to us:

1. The Methodist preacher is, first of all and fundamentally, a man—in body and brain a man; he is related to all men, and he wrongs himself and others if he submits to mutilation of body or mind.

2. By a spiritual regeneration he is a sanctified man, a Christian man, a follower of the supreme One who, contrasting the breadth of his own humanity with the narrow incompleteness of his great forerunner, declared that "true sanctity is not by withdrawal or repression, but by the glorification of the common lot and the infusion of a higher spirit and life."

3. He is a Christian minister. Not only is he an expounder of doctrine and an administrator of affairs, but also a guide and a leader of men, and an exponent of the soul life that other men ought to live. In advance, maybe, of those he leads, he is yet in touch with them. Not all things that are lawful for him are expedient, as, for instance, certain legitimate lines of business or study. "There was a time," we are told, "when in Germany and Switzerland there were more good bee keepers to be found among the clergy than among the laity, and more capable florists and cattle raisers than capable trainers of human beings—when the greater number were more skillful in the plant nursery than in the village school, and more at home in their cattle stalls than in the sheepfold of Christ." In this instance the clergy sought not "first things first," but first things last. The

high Pauline doctrine of expediency must in such matters be applied. From whatever is a hindrance to the preacher's chief work it is his duty to abstain, but whatever may be of helpfulness to him in his work it is his privilege to enjoy. Expediency determines, yet for both minister and people one ethical standard should prevail. If it be wrong for him to attend the theater, it is wrong for them. If they may read a given book, he has the moral right to read the same. Expediency may determine otherwise, and in particular cases the individual conscience may make distinctions, but it is safe to affirm that the minister should ask of the people nothing he would be afraid or ashamed to do himself, and that the people should do nothing which would shock the moral sense if they saw the like done by him.

4. He is a Methodist preacher, and is called to emphasize certain doctrines and phases of the Christian faith, and to advocate a particular conduct in life. He should be loyal to the ordinances of his Church, as the governor of a province should be loyal to the government he serves; yet his loyalty should be in spirit to the fulfilling of the letter, and not in the fulfilling of the letter to the violation of its spirit. There are two ways of being loyal to the Church, as of being patriotic in the service of the State. The one is by Pharisaic self-assertion, the other is by courteous and self-respecting confraternity. The traditions of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the memory of its illustrious human founder alike declare for breadth and toleration, for catholicity of life and thought, for "the use of a creed as a cord that is noosed to save, and not to be drawn so tight as to strangle."

The Methodist preacher who is no narrower than John Wesley in his religious and theological thought will be exceeding broad, and find himself among the most catholic-minded of his time. Dean Stanley, it is said, always contended that the modern broad Church, of which the dean was himself an illustrious representative, was founded by John Wesley, and the antagonism that Wesley excited among the other evangelical leaders of his time goes far to justify the contention. But how came it that John Wesley was so much in advance of his Methodist contemporaries, so much more catholic? We believe it was first of all due to the fact that he so clearly apprehended the genius of Christianity; further, because he had intense

natural sympathy with human nature; and, lastly, because he was a man of broad culture and of wide reading.

Upon the foregoing conclusions, therefore, it is perfectly consistent to suggest to the Methodist preacher, as to any other man, *the cultivation of a catholic taste in literature.* It has been fashionable for some time past to affect a discipleship to one or another great literary master; and hence on both sides of the Atlantic we hear of Ibsen societies and Browning societies, as we before heard of Shelley and Shakespeare societies. These organizations are not without service to society in general, but literary cliques have a tendency to develop literary cant, which is as bad as cant of any other kind. Without the slightest intended disrespect to acknowledged authorities, it may truthfully be said that a sturdy independence is as healthful in our intellectual as in our moral life, for catholicity and independence go hand in hand. Only let us take care that with independence we have humility, since the independence of ignorance is often the worst intolerance.

The cultivation of a catholic taste in literature necessarily augments the pleasure of existence. We cannot read everything that is produced, or even the best of everything that may be obtainable; but we may culture ourselves to the reasonable appreciation of the greatest possible variety both in the nature of literature and its style. Of course, a reader will have his particular favorite among authors and books, as among companion souls, but with the distinct advantage that he may multiply his literary loves without fear of jealousies or self-accusings. We may revel in the luxuriance of Tennyson, and yet love the sweet simplicity of Longfellow; we may be enamored of the sensuous idealism of Shelley, and yet enjoy the healthy naturalism of Scott; we may find high enjoyment in the mysteries of Browning, and yet listen with sympathetic interest to the fancies of a "Hoosier poet;" we may regard with never-ceasing wonder the universality of Shakespeare, and yet admire Milton's sublime genius. Throughout the illimitable universe of thought catholicity is the truest wisdom.

Upon the Methodist preacher may be still further urged *the reasonableness of catholicity in relation to religion and theological thought.* Wesley, Watson, Raymond, Pope, and Miley have not exhausted the world of divinity. There are teachers

and preachers of widely differing schools who present necessary views of truth which others have not adequately shown. It is not only eloquence, but also high wisdom, that characterized the utterance of a modern writer and preacher, who says:

> I hear the voices and I hear something of God in all. I can sit in the cloistral calm with Thomas à Kempis; I can walk in the blackness of darkness with John Bunyan; I can share the vast enthusiasms of John Wesley. I can rejoice in the sympathetic breadth of Charles Kingsley, the masculine reason of Maurice, the tenderness of George Macdonald, the insight and charm of Martineau. I can worship with the Catholic or the Salvationist; I can hear the clear chime of truth sound through the Unitarianism of Channing; and if sometimes the voice fades upon my ear I may at least believe that it speaks to some one else, for "there are many voices, and none of them is without signification."*

And what of the *relation of the Methodist preacher to the great world of human life and conduct?* In his association with human hearts and human purposes, with saints and sinners, with heretics, schismatics, and believers, shall he maintain his catholicity of spirit? Yes, for it is in these very relations that it is most needed.

The catholicity for which we plead is that which is natural to a magnanimous disposition, is consistent with keen critical discrimination, is sometimes created by education, and is always perfected by the special grace of the Holy Spirit. It seeks to win men by consulting their idiosyncrasies; it believes "men might be better if we better deemed of them;" "it thinketh no evil," yet defendeth no evil, and "while covering, rather than exposing, a multitude of sins, telleth no lies about them." It is that which would encourage Christian cooperation in any worthy work upon which men should unite, and which would courteously accept the aid of even an infidel in a matter of legislative or civic reform. It is that which moved John Wesley to assert—as Hugh Price Hughes tells us—that Mohammedanism was a probable improvement upon oriental Christianity, and that he had no doubt Marcus Antoninus was one of the "many" who should "come from the east and west" and "sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob," while the children of the kingdom—meaning nominal Christians—are "cast out;" and that led him to quote with appro-

* *The Church of To-morrow*, by W. J. Dawson, p. 34.

bation the words of another, who said, "What the heathen call reason; Solomon, wisdom; St. Paul, grace; St. John, love; Luther, faith; and Fénelon, virtue, is all one and the same thing—the light of Christ shining in different degrees under different dispensations." It is that which prompted Bishop Brooks to support one of the Cowley fathers when nominated to a bishopric, although the father was of a party by which his own work and advancement had been bitterly antagonized. It is that which enabled "the apostle Paul to understand the apostle Peter when the apostle Peter could not understand the apostle Paul," and to rejoice whenever Christ was preached, although a personal enemy might be preaching him; that shone from the life of the Saviour, who, though saying, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire," yet in all his ways sought to save men with both their eyes and feet; and that fell in words of marvelous grace and mercy from his lips when he cried, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

How can the catholic temper be developed? To some it is a gift of nature, to some it is an acquirement of education, and to some it is alone of grace. Every man must fulfill himself along the lines of his own personality, yet no tone or temper is altogether incapable of modification or change. To beget and foster catholicity the following rules may be suggested:

1. One must exercise the critical faculty in reading and in the study of ethical problems and men. Discriminate! Discriminate!! Discriminate!!!

2. He should remember the essential truth of the Pauline declaration, "There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification." The voice for one age may not be that for the next. The code of ethics for ancient Israel is not exactly correspondent to the code for the Christian Israel of to-day. "There was a day when Diogenes was an oracle, and Anacreon a voice, and the Sibylline books were authority and guide." But, as Maurice Thompson says, "The tub is no longer habitable, and our wine gives headaches instead of joy, and we should feel like benighted children if we shaped our destiny by the directions of the Sibylline books." New

tones, new voices, or old tones with new emphasis break from time to time on the listening ear of the Christian Church. At one time the dominant note is justification by faith; at another, the sovereignty of God; at another, the responsibility of man and the universality of salvation. Yesterday it was the fatherhood of God; to-day it is the brotherhood of man; and to-morrow it may be, with new force, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

3. He should also remember the truism of mathematics—that the whole is greater than any one of its parts, and thereby escape the fallacy of the modern decadent school of realists; and should remember the golden rule of morality, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," and thereby avoid the sin of many an erring pietist.

4. Let him also recollect that the ground of all just judgment must be upon motive and intent; and that although, "in this life, men may be judged by their works, when the counsels of the heart are examined works are to be judged by the man himself."

5. Finally, he should look to the Holy Spirit for light, wisdom, guidance, and discrimination, as well as for evangelistic power.

But what, it may be asked, should be the attitude of catholicity toward unquestioned evil? Alas! that there should be any need of answer. There are wrongs and wickedness, more than enough for all souls militant to combat—evils hoary with antiquity, and a whole brood of newly begotten horrors. The long-continued fight must go on, and the catholic spirit must never weaken our hands for the war.

We have not exalted a toleration that is pagan, but a catholicity that is Christian—a catholicity that finds its finest definition in the words of Paul: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, . . . whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

Henry A. Reed

Art. V.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE SOUTH.

By the terms of the Plan of Separation adopted at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844 it became the right of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, when formed—if it should be formed agreeably to the Plan—to secure to its fellowship as many of the members of the undivided Church in the South as it could induce to go with it, from the Gulf to the line of division between slavery and freedom; while it was the right of the Methodist Episcopal Church to retain in its fellowship all whom it could induce to continue therein, in unbroken connection, by pastoral charges, districts, and Conferences, from the line of division between slavery and freedom down to the Gulf.

The line of division between the two Churches might fall anywhere south of the line of division between slavery and freedom. Perceiving this, and seeing the importance to the new organization of making the former line conform as nearly as possible to the latter, the Convention of Southern delegates, assembled in Louisville, Ky., in 1845, by which the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was formally organized, adopted a resolution looking to the accomplishment of this object; and at once efforts began to be made toward organizing Southern Methodist Episcopal churches within the bounds of the Ohio Conference, in West Virginia. Two Southern Methodist churches were also organized in Cincinnati. These two churches did not have a long life, but the will and the purpose of the Church South were clearly revealed in the fact that they were established.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was able to retain in its fellowship a considerable number of members south of the line between slavery and freedom. There was a strip of slave territory, in some places wider, in others narrower, extending in almost unbroken connection from Delaware on the east to Missouri on the west, in which the Methodist Episcopal Church never ceased to have an existence. In 1864, when the War of the Rebellion was drawing to a close, the Conferences which were located, wholly or partly, in what had been slave States

were the Baltimore, the East Baltimore, the Central German, the Delaware, the Kentucky, the Missouri and Arkansas, the Southwestern German, the Washington, and the Western Virginia. Excluding from the calculation in which we are now engaging such parts of any of these Conferences as were situated north of slave territory, we find that the strength of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South at that time was as follows:

	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
White work	74,474	924	$1,803,415	135	$201,685
Colored work	29,664	126	195,200		
Total	104,138	1,050	$1,998,615	135	$201,685

In 1865, the war having been brought to a close and slavery abolished, there began to be manifested a desire on the part of many persons, both white and colored, in the South, below the strip of territory on which the Methodist Episcopal Church had at that time an existence, for membership in it. In the Gulf States this desire revealed itself almost exclusively among the colored people; in the border and intermediate States it was found to exist chiefly among the white people. The leaders of the Church were not unwilling to enter the door thus opened, and began at once to arrange to extend the fellowship and the offices of the Church to all in the South who might desire to receive and enjoy them. From that time to the present the extension of the Church in a southerly direction has gone steadily forward. At first it progressed in the face of great prejudice and opposition. The success that has attended the movement has tended to lessen both the prejudice and the opposition, though they still exist to a certain extent. At times the indifference shown by brethren of our Church in the North has been scarcely less unpleasant to those engaged in the work than the unfriendly attitude with which they have been met in the South.

In 1882, because of the existence, among some of our friends in the North, of a feeling of uncertainty in regard to the progress and stability of the work among the whites of the South, the writer of this article undertook to examine and learn the strength and prospects of our Church in that section. In addition to obtaining letters from prominent ministers in the South, he

prepared statistical tables from the Minutes of the Conferences. These tables aggregated as follows for the year 1882:

	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Among the Whites	208,122	2,464	$6,168,129	468	$674,236
Among the Colored	189,570	1,971	1,845,233	288	107,504
Total	397,692	4,435	$8,013,362	756	$781,740

These figures were a sufficient answer to any question as to the success of the movement, and showed that no inconsiderable part of the people in the South, white as well as colored, preferred membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church to membership in any other Church that was accessible.

In 1885, influenced again by some things which had appeared in print, the writer went over the ground a second time, and found that the progress made in gathering members in this part of the country was fully equal to that made in other parts. The following was the result for 1885:

	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Among the Whites	222,070	2,768	$7,012,755	593	$811,161
Among the Colored	203,048	2,212	2,312,867	422	175,991
Total	425,118	4,980	$9,325,622	1,015	$987,152
Increase in four years	135,564	2,595	$3,310,875	394	$416,097

Just before the last General Conference our progress in the South was again made the subject of discussion in some of our Church papers, and again appeal was made to the statistical reports, with the following results for 1891–92:

	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Among the Whites	269,372	3,062	$8,959,222	750	$1,100,702
Among the Colored	234,036	2,692	3,062,782	643	323,382
Total	503,408	5,754	$12,022,004	1,393	$1,523,084
Increase in six years	78,290	774	2,696,382	378	535,932
Increase since 1864	399,270	4,704	$10,023,389	1,378	$1,321,309

Another quadrennium has passed, and though little has been written during the period that could be objected to, yet, for general information, and more especially in view of the possibility of something being proposed at the approaching General Conference looking to a change of relations of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, it has seemed proper again to appeal to figures; and tables of

the most recent statistics, by Conferences, as they lie wholly or partly in the South, have been prepared, as follows:

WHITE WORK.

CONFERENCES.	Year.	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Alabama	1895	9,149	155	$147,711	10	$5,225
Arkansas	1895	5,474	86	130,000	28	12,864
Austin	1895	1,899	30	160,165	16	21,950
Baltimore	1895	47,320	399	3,385,600	121	434,650
Blue Ridge	1894	7,903	141	88,840	20	8,100
East German	1895	368	4	67,100	3	9,050
Saint John's River	1895	1,220	32	131,450	10	31,900
Louisiana	1895	153	4	52,800	1	3,000
Missouri	1895	27,571	321	518,100	91	81,100
Saint Louis	1895	25,961	283	1,009,718	89	106,150
Virginia	1895	9,492	141	141,125	22	19,975
Wilmington	1895	41,422	383	1,561,893	131	264,515
Central German	1895	1,542	8	127,000	7	21,700
Central Tennessee	1895	6,999	134	91,416	22	12,560
Georgia	1895	3,148	77	55,440	10	4,220
Holston	1895	24,397	300	353,000	29	35,225
Kentucky	1895	24,471	268	497,490	39	59,570
Saint Louis German	1895	4,574	61	212,150	33	44,060
South German	1895	2,398	45	86,920	27	26,445
West German	1895	1,685	27	72,100	13	13,900
West Virginia	1895	48,960	589	886,305	122	160,065
Pittsburg	1894	513	5	21,600	3	2,600
Gulf Mission	1895	658	7	8,300	1	700
Western Swedish	1895	167	3	14,000	2	3,500
Total		301,234	3,503	$9,830,193	850	$1,383,094

COLORED WORK.

CONFERENCES.	Year.	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Florida	1895	4,899	92	$79,429	19	$8,250
Lexington	1895	7,079	77	170,266	36	15,091
Little Rock	1895	5,087	89	56,445	22	8,210
Louisiana	1895	14,013	196	215,455	90	44,615
Mississippi	1895	18,122	211	121,086	52	17,268
Upper Mississippi	1895	19,506	219	107,582	38	15,075
Central Missouri	1895	6,936	115	125,800	46	14,680
North Carolina	1895	9,826	127	77,400	22	6,315
Washington	1895	30,206	312	815,541	72	70,900
Central Alabama	1895	10,884	132	93,512	35	11,385
Delaware	1895	16,554	220	264,588	63	39,205
East Tennessee	1894	5,467	86	124,000	19	7,504
Savannah	1895	21,190	226	238,911	48	20,033
Tennessee	1895	9,531	119	93,564	20	6,825
Texas	1894	15,697	201	220,650	73	26,910
West Texas	1894	11,010	125	124,440	44	11,819
South Carolina	1895	46,319	359	322,815	80	40,369
Total		252,676	2,906	$3,251,514	779	$364,504

TOTALS OF WHITE AND COLORED WORK.

CONFERENCES.	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
White work	301,234	3,503	$9,830,193	850	$1,383,094
Colored work	252,676	2,906	3,251,514	779	364,504
Grand total	553,910	6,409	$13,071,707	1,629	$1,747,598
Increase in White work since 1891	31,862	441	$800,971	100	$183,392
Increase in Colored work since 1891	18,641	214	188,732	136	41,122
Total increase for both since 1891	50,503	655	$1,049,703	236	$224,514
Increase in White work since 1864	226,760	2,559	$8,016,778	715	$1,181,409
Increase in Colored work since 1864	223,012	2,780	3,056,314	779	364,504
Total increase for both since 1864	449,772	5,339	$11,073,092	1,494	$1,545,913

These figures show that the Church has about quadrupled its membership, with a corresponding increase of Church property, in the South since 1864. This is a much greater increase, relatively, than that of the entire Church.

OUR PROGRESS AMONG THE WHITES OF THE SOUTH.

For the reason that our work among the colored people in the South has appealed more forcibly to the sympathies of the North than has that among the white people of the South, and has been more frequently and more earnestly emphasized before the public, the latter has been less thoughtfully considered and less perfectly understood, whether as to its present strength, its prospects, or its future influence upon Southern sentiment. Many of our friends in the North, otherwise intelligent, have seemed to be ignorant of the fact that we have any hold worthy of consideration upon the white people of the South. Many of them have formed their views, in part, from what has *not* been said by agents and others when speaking before the public about the Church, its condition, and its wants in the South; and, in part, from letters written by persons who have visited the chief towns and cities in the Gulf States. The South is large, and there are many people in it who are not to be found in the extreme southern centers of population; and, besides, there are as wide differences of view in the South on all important questions as there are in the North.

In speaking of the hold which our Church has upon the white people of the South we have no desire to depreciate what has been done among the colored people, but would simply bring into clearer view that department of enterprise of our Church in the South which, we think, has not been sufficiently emphasized and understood. Our progress at first among the whites was slower than among the colored people, for reasons which are obvious. There was in the way of the whites everything in the nature of social influence to prevent them from coming; nothing brought them but preference of ideas. The colored people, on the other hand, had everything to induce them to come. In addition to the tractive power of ideas, whatever of social life there was for them was altogether among themselves, and they were all of one way of thinking; so that, in coming, they came under the impulse which moved the whole, and not

against it. The progress, therefore, which was made in gathering colored people into the Church was easy and rapid. They came in masses.

From 1864 to 1881–82—a period of about seventeen years—the membership among the colored people ran up from 29,664 to 189,570—an increase for the period of 159,906, and an increase per year for the period of 9,406; while the membership of the whites went from 74,474 to 208,122—an increase for the period of 133,648, less by 26,258 than that of the colored membership, and an increase per year for the period of 7,861, less by 1,545 than that of the colored membership.

With the close of this period there began to be a change. The statistics for 1885 show that the colored membership ran up from 189,579 to 203,048, giving an increase for the period of 13,468, and an average increase per year of 3,867; but the white membership ran up from 208,122 to 222,070, giving an increase for the period of 13,948, and an average increase per year of 3,987, thus running a little ahead of the colored membership and, relatively with what had taken place during the preceding seventeen years, very greatly ahead of it.

During the period from 1885 to 1891 the colored membership went from 203,048 to 234,036, giving an increase for the period of 30,988, and an average increase per year of 5,164; while the white membership went up from 222,070 to 269,372, giving an increase for the period of 47,302, and an average increase per year of 7,883.

From 1891 to the present time the colored membership has gone from 234,036 to 252,676, giving an increase for the period of 18,640, and an average increase per year of 4,660; while the white membership has gone up from 269,372 to 301,234, giving an increase for the period of 31,862, and an average increase per year of 7,965. Speaking on this point, in a pamphlet which the writer published four years ago, we said: "It is reasonable to suppose that this change of relative difference of increase in favor of the whites is fixed, and that, while the colored members in the South will go on increasing, the white members will go on increasing yet more and more rapidly." The statistics for 1895 show that, so far, this supposition has proved to be correct.

The idea has prevailed, and still prevails, to a certain extent

in the North that we have fewer white members in the South than colored. This has at no time been true; and from the relative progress among white and colored it is reasonable to suppose that it will be less and less true with each succeeding year. The reasons for this do not depend upon the disposition of the colored people toward our Church, nor upon the disposition of the Church toward them. The whole number of white members of our Church in the South in 1864 exceeded that of the colored members by 44,810. In 1881–82 this excess was greatly reduced by reason of the more rapid afflux of colored than of white members to us for the intervening period; but even at the end of this period, when the colored people had been coming to us in masses, the excess of white over colored members was 18,552. At the end of this period the change already mentioned began to take place, and in 1885 the white membership exceeded the colored by 19,022. In 1891 the excess of white over colored members was 35,336; and at the present time the excess is 48,558, or more by 3,748 than it was in 1864. So much in regard to the entire white membership in the South. As was to be expected, much the greater part of this number is found in the border States, precisely as much the greater part of the colored members is found in the Gulf States. But a very considerable part of our strength among the whites is found in the States south of the border States. Excluding from the calculation the border Conferences, and embracing only those in which, with the exception of Virginia and Arkansas, the Church had no existence in 1864, we find statistics as follows in 1895:

CONFERENCES.	Members.	Churches.	Valuation.	Parsonages.	Valuation.
Alabama	9,149	155	$147,711	10	$5,225
Arkansas	5,474	86	130,000	28	12,8[illegible]
Austin	1,809	30	160,165	16	21,[illegible]
Blue Ridge	7,503	141	88,840	20	8,[illegible]
Saint John's River	1,220	32	131,450	10	31,[illegible]
Louisiana	153	4	52,800	1	3,[illegible]
Virginia	9,462	141	141,125	22	19,[illegible]
Central Tennessee	6,909	134	91,416	22	12,[illegible]
Georgia	3,148	77	55,440	10	4,[illegible]
Holston	24,397	300	353,000	29	35,[illegible]
South German	2,398	45	88,920	27	26,[illegible]
Gulf Mission	658	7	8,300	1	[illegible]
Totals for 1895	72,680	1,152	$1,447,247	196	$182,[illegible]
Totals for 1891	68,178	1,085	1,403,516	168	140,[illegible]
Increase in four years	4,502	67	$43,731	28	$41,[illegible]

AS COMPARED WITH THE CHURCH SOUTH.

To aid in arriving at a true estimate of the strength of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Southern States, let us compare it with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the South. We say "in the South" for the reason that that Church has a small number of members outside of the South. The whole number of members of the Church South in the South in 1894—the most recent date for which we have been able to procure statistics of that Church—was 1,358,859. The membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South at the present time is, as has been seen, 553,743, which makes our strength in the South about two fifths that of the Church South.

In the border Conferences we have more members than the Church South, as is shown by the following figures:

BORDER CONFERENCES OF THE CHURCH SOUTH.

Conferences.	Members.	Conferences.	Members.
Baltimore	45,213	Missouri	41,283
Kentucky	28,348	Southwest Missouri	30,613
Louisville	44,008	Saint Louis	26,902
Memphis (in Kentucky)	7,553	Western Virginia	22,195
Total			246,115

BORDER CONFERENCES OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Conferences.	Members.	Conferences.	Members.
Baltimore	47,320	Saint Louis German	4,574
East German	368	Pittsburg	513
Missouri	27,571	West Virginia	48,960
Saint Louis	29,961	Lexington	7,079
Wilmington	41,422	Central Missouri	6,986
Central German	1,542	Delaware	16,554
Kentucky	24,471	Washington	30,296
Total			287,617

This gives an excess in favor of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 41,502, counting both white and colored members for both Churches, since the Church South still retains a very small number of colored members in its folds. Counting only the whites in each Church, we have for the Church South 246,036, and for the Methodist Episcopal Church 226,702, showing a difference in favor of the Church South of 19,334.

THE CHURCH SOUTH IN THE NORTH.

The relative strength of the two Churches in the South having been shown, it will be of advantage to know the strength of the Church South in the North. The following figures for 1894 give the most recent statistics we have been able to obtain:

Conferences.	Members.	Conferences.	Members.
Columbia	1,322	Montana	781
Denver	901	New Mexico	985
East Columbia	1,645	Pacific	7,939
Illinois	7,940	Louisville (in Indiana)	190
Los Angeles	2,174		
Total			23,877

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE TWO CHURCHES.

The figures of the foreign mission work of the two Churches are important in connection with any consideration that may be given to a proposition looking to any change of relations between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has the following members in mission fields:

Missions.	Members.	Missions.	Members.
In Brazil	1,098	In China	517
In Central Mexico	3,169	In Japan	532
Total			5,316

The Methodist Episcopal Church has the following membership in its mission fields:

Missions.	Members.	Missions.	Members.
Bulgaria	233	Switzerland	6,993
Central China	586	Bengal-Burmah	979
Denmark	2,721	Bombay	836
Finland and St. Petersburg	747	Korea	241
Italy	1,525	Liberia	4,137
Japan	4,006	Malaysia	413
North China	2,838	Mexico	3,534
North Germany	5,861	North India	33,111
Norway	5,048	Northwest India	25,225
South America	3,176	South India	1,070
South Germany	6,135	Foo-Chow	3,686
Sweden	16,105		
Total			129,246

A commission was appointed by the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on Federation. If the object was to take a step looking to reunion as the end it is cause of congratulation. The reunion of the Churches would

tend to the destruction of sectionalism, and to the promotion of peace and good will between the sections. It would give a more loving and joyous spirit to the ministers and members of the reunited Churches, and would clothe the hosts of Methodism with a new panoply of power and grace. But, if the ultimate thought be not reunion, then it is worth the while of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to ask what effect anything more than fraternity, which we now have, but less than reunion might have upon that part of the Church which lies in the South, proximate to the Church South, and especially upon that part which is composed of white members in the South. Anything that would tend to cripple and weaken this part of the Church would tend to cripple and weaken the whole Church, and thus to set it back from its present limitations, which are concurrent with the boundaries of the country, and make it what it was during the days of slavery, a Church of a part of the country only.

Daniel Stevenson

Art. VI.—THE THEORETICAL AND THE PRACTICAL.

The exaltation of duty, in distinction from dogma, has become a characteristic mark of our time. But is it an utterance from the depths of the Christian consciousness, or only obedience to a shallow fashion? Sometimes, doubtless, it expresses little but the personal equation of minds devoid of historical and philosophical perspective; sometimes it proceeds from intellectual laziness; sometimes it results from conservative disinclination to reexamine traditional beliefs. Nevertheless, this way of thinking has taken so general and apparently so firm a hold upon both the masses and their leaders, upon both the intellects and the sympathies of men, as to preclude the suspicion that it is a mere inadvertent neglect, an aberration, or a "fad." It has assumed the proportions of a great, though subtle, religious movement. The very air throbs with its spirit as with the impulse of a new reformation. We may well surmise that some truth of deep import is thus finding expression; that some part of the divine plan is being accomplished. What this plan is may not be known until the far future historian has placed our age in his just balances. But the truth that underlies this tendency is, perhaps, already accessible. At least it invites investigation, both because its intrinsic interest is great and because the maintenance of a wise equilibrium requires, in times of rapid transition, a doubly firm grasp of fundamental principles.

The great philosophical classic on the relation of theory to life was not written until about a hundred years ago. Reason and faith had indeed been a theme of discussion through all the Christian centuries, but even Aquinas had not been able to assign them their bounds. The attempt to be loyal to two authorities, or to reconcile intellectual liberty with ecclesiastical authority, had broken down of its own weight. No one had either given philosophical justification for the content of Christian faith or shown that faith could walk without the support of philosophy. Kant was the first to discover that the reason this problem of the centuries had not been solved was that the question itself had been improperly put. Faith had been treated either as a special mode of cognition, that is, conviction, concerning truth, or as cognition of a special sort of

objects; while reason had claimed to be a superior mode of knowing, and had assumed a right to the entire realm of the knowable. The tendency of critical intellects, therefore, was to reject what was not proved; that of devout minds, to demonstrate all that they held dear. On all hands reason was acknowledged to have a secure footing of its own. Faith was always the one to have its basis, as well as content, called in question. But Kant saw clearly two things—the need of inquiring whether reason really possessed the powers hitherto attributed to it, and the fact that faith was not primarily a matter of cognition or the acceptance of a revelation, but was moral volition. Not that intellect was to be excluded from all share in determining the content of faith; but this share rather consisted in drawing out the implications of an already existing moral life than in discovering a rational basis for the moral life itself. According to Kant we do not accept moral obligation because we believe in God, but we believe in God because we accept moral obligation. The real problem, therefore, was not to determine the relation between two bodies of truth or two modes of reaching truth; but it was to determine the relation between the functions of willing and knowing, or, in Kantian phrase, between the practical and the theoretical.

We cannot better approach the answer to this question than by noting the general character and the limitation of Kant's own solution. In his Preface to the second edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason* he announces that he intends to "remove knowledge in order to make room for faith." The confidence with which both theist and atheist have gone at the deepest questionings of the human spirit he declares to be misplaced, for the reason that the human faculty is incompetent to attain knowledge on such transcendent subjects. His own conclusion, the grounds for which cannot here be even hinted at, is that knowledge, strictly so called, is limited to objects of a possible experience, that is, to the phenomenal order, observed or inferred. Realities, whether the world, the soul, or God, are conceivable but not knowable. The result is that Kant admits the existence of a theoretical reason, whose sphere, though limited, is free from admixture of practical, that is, volitional, elements. In his complementary work, the *Critique of Practical Reason*, he next labors to prove that there is also a

practical reason, or cognitive process, mixed with, and indeed depending upon, volition. This is the faith for which he proposed to make room. The logical structure of this *Critique* may be summarized as follows: If moral obligation is rational, then freedom, God, and immortality are real (as is shown by a series of prosyllogisms). This is, of course, the beginning of a merely hypothetical syllogism; yet, since all men admit that obligation is rational, the conclusion should be acknowledged as a conviction universally human, in short, as knowledge. Nevertheless, this is not theoretical knowledge, not knowledge in the strict sense, since it rests upon a proposition merely assumed or postulated, namely, the rationality of obligation. This can be neither proved nor disproved, but only voluntarily accepted or rejected.

By stopping at this point Kant left us with an unreconciled dualism in knowledge, and with apparent internal disunion of our faculties. The theoretical reason is credited with an unclouded title within its own field, but this field holds only the seeming, not the real; while the practical reason, though it lays hold of the real, does so by violence, not by legal process. Once or twice, indeed, Kant seems to have glimpses of a unity of the two, and that not merely in the mediatorial work of the *Critique of Judgment;* for even in the *Critique of Practical Reason* he remarks that every faculty of the mind has an interest, and significantly says that the practical reason cannot be subordinated to the speculative "because all interest is, in final analysis, practical." Otherwise expressed, this is the truth, brought clearly to light through the searching analysis of later psychology, that cognition is throughout a function of will as well as of intellect; or, better, that intellect itself is conative. Pure intellect, unmixed with desire, impulse, volition, nowhere exists; nay, an intellectual event, *qua* event, whether it be an event of perception, judgment, or inference, is the utterance of some sort of impulse. It is for this reason that we can consistently speak of intellectual "tendencies," "preferences," "affinities," "impulses," "acts," and "achievements." Faust was not illogical when he proposed to read in place of "In the beginning was the Word" (*Logos*, rationality), "In the beginning was the Act," for rationality is activity, and therefore a function of will.

So much of importance for the understanding of our problem hangs upon a clear grasp of the truth just mentioned that we shall do well to dwell upon it for a moment. The way in which the doctrine of the faculties of the mind has been handled has concealed as much truth as it has revealed. Even when the intellect has not been said to do the knowing, the sensibility the feeling, or the will the willing, an impression has been allowed to exist that functions of each sort could be performed in the absence of all the others; that, for instance, some states were pure feeling, some pure volition, and others pure intellection. A more careful analysis shows that these three functions, though discriminable, are never separate. Every state of consciousness has all three aspects. Each is intellectual, for each is a state of awareness and discrimination more or less clear; each is sensitive by virtue of its feeling-tone; each is conative, for attention in greater or less degree is always present. The bearing of this upon the theory of knowledge and faith will be perceived by asking for the ultimate grounds of any judgment. Undertake to prove anything completely, and one will sooner or later discover that he knows something that is not and cannot be proved. This unprovable knowledge will be found to consist of universal judgments, such as the laws of thought or the assertion that there is an external world, and particular judgments of perception and introspection, such as the assertion that one object is harder or softer than another. Now, if we are asked how we know these ultimates of knowledge, we can only reply that there is no process, method, or ground of this knowledge; we simply perform the act of assertion, and this is the end of the matter. If the question arises whether we may with the same seeming arbitrariness assert anything whatever, we can only answer that it is not in us to do this; that our nature goes out toward, and finds its own realization and satisfaction in, some assertions, but not others. The ultimates of knowledge, then, are simply acts of self-realization; they are facts of sensibility and will as well as of intellect. Now, our entire knowledge is built up of judgments, each of which is, in its own way, an ultimate. Judgments of perception, judgments of memory, and judgments of inference express the tendency or impulse of the mind at the moment of their formation. All knowledge, therefore, is an

expression of interest more or less conscious and volitional, and "all interest," as Kant says, "is in final analysis practical." There is, then, no purely theoretical knowledge, no pure insight; but, at the foundation, knowledge is simply self-assertion. This self-assertion may indeed be self-limiting, and so law-abiding; it may set up standards, ideals, criteria for itself, but this limit is only another self-assertion of the same mind. If, therefore, faith means conviction that something unprovable is nevertheless true, knowledge itself reduces to faith.

Proofs, like this, of a "*credo ut intelligam*" have not unfrequently given great comfort to defenders of the faith—too great comfort, indeed; for, while the argument has been supposed to confirm the method of faith as against, or in contrast to, that of knowledge, it in fact denies that there is any such radical difference. We are as far as ever from justifying any article of the content of faith. For the reduction of the elements of knowledge and of faith to the same category would naturally imply that all the processes by which the mind purifies and certifies its knowledge are applicable also to its faith. As soon as we remove the partition by means of which some have tried to separate a faith compartment from the rest of the mind faith forfeits all its supposed immunities; henceforth there is no refuge from the demand for a rational justification of our beliefs; we are at liberty to hold as true only such propositions as evidence renders at least probable.

The individual or the generation that accepts this conclusion comes to a parting of the ways with respect to the religious life. Henceforth common honesty forbids both lazy acquiescence in tradition and the calming of intellectual doubts by the assumption that faith is a privileged highway to certainty. To be religious one must either become a theologian, a philosopher, or whatever else that is necessary to have critical knowledge of the things of the Spirit; or else he must find a way to be religious while being noncommittal concerning questions of fact or truth which he has not yet rationally adjusted. The Christian consciousness of to-day seems positive that it has discovered this latter way. For it is amazingly unconcerned about the party names, definitions, and formulas which were very near the center of interest even a generation ago. Two facts may seem to contradict this statement, the dogmatic spirit

of the Roman Church, particularly as exhibited in the decree of infallibility passed in 1870, and the recent deliverance of a representative Protestant body concerning the inerrancy of the Scriptures. In spite of the Vatican decree, however, the last ten years have witnessed in this country, at least, more marks of religious sympathy, more cooperation in philanthropy and civilization, between Protestants and Catholics than ever before. Theoretical differences have been kept in the background, in the interest of practical good. As to the other fact that appears to contradict our statement, we may venture to say that the circumstances of its origin and the sentiments it has evoked indicate that, whatever Christians may privately hold as to the Scriptures, no further official definitions are called for. Along with this abeyance of theory has come a remarkable bloom of the sense of obligation. It may be doubted whether the majesty of duty and the beauty of the kingdom of love were ever preached with greater directness and positiveness than at present, or whether the laity ever cared so little for theory and so much for practice.

But how far is this separation of the two practicable? Are we certain, after all, that one can be religious without settling for oneself, either by rational investigation or by choosing sides, the great questions concerning the fundamental truths of theology? How far can religion rest on feeling or volition without becoming irrational? Of course, feelings and volitions cannot be classed with, or deduced from, thought; they are each *sui generis;* and hence, in so far as they enter into religion, religion is extrarational. Yet, inasmuch as religious states and acts have reference to an object conceived as real, while the reality of objects would seem to be a matter for knowledge and reason, must we not infer that, after all, religion is as much theoretical as practical? There are four conflicting ways of answering this question, which we propose to consider in the light of the principles already adduced.

The first concludes that we may hold as true whatever we have religious motive for asserting, provided only it does not contradict knowledge. This is the popular solution of the difficulty, but it is inadequate. Of course, we may not, even if we could, believe anything that contradicts our most certain knowledge; but, on the same grounds, we may ask how we can

accept anything that contradicts even a slight preponderance of evidence. That for which we perceive such a preponderance is for us the probable, and is what we actually believe, as long as we continue to perceive this preponderance of evidence. And when the evidence for and against seems equal how can we incline to one side or the other without self-sophistication? If the reply be made that what is called knowledge is also in its elements assertion without grounds, the rejoinder is that, if religious truth puts itself on this basis, it must submit to rational tests and abjure the extrarational judgments for which it seems to contend. Middle ground between reason and feeling does not appear to exist.

Recognizing this difficulty, a second considerable school incline to surrender themselves to feeling and imagination, as though these were the norm of religious truth. Writers of the type of Ritschl, for instance, do not scruple to say that the unity of the world which concerns religion is "utterly indifferent to the world-order established by natural science." "The Christian idea of God," it is said, "exists only as a function of the moral nature;" and "just as certainly as volition and feeling cannot be reduced to cognition in ideas, so certain is it that the latter is not justified in imposing its laws upon them." "Religion, which presents itself in all three elementary functions of the soul, is under no obligation either to accommodate itself unqualifiedly to the logical conditions of theoretical knowledge, or to renounce itself." The defenders of this view claim that, since cognition itself exists only in response to impulses, it is only a means to a satisfactory, that is, moral, existence; and therefore that the primary thing in knowledge is moral feeling. This last then seems to be a law unto itself. Otherwise expressed, religious beliefs are founded solely on judgments of value, which have an independent right. But the difficulties of this view are near at hand. By what canons of reason are we allowed to infer that, because the belief in X has value, therefore X itself has reality? Evidently the basis of this procedure is not a judgment of value at all, but one of fact, namely, that the real universe is one of moral and æsthetic harmony. As, however, this is the very conclusion supposed to be inferred through judgments of value, the circle is obvious.

But, it will be said, since, according to the preceding analysis,

even knowledge originates in impulse and is tested by feeling, is not the right of moral and religious impulses to assert themselves equal to the right of reason itself? The answer is, Yes; they have an equal right to assert themselves, but not to assert anything else. Confusion has arisen at this point. Since the criterion of knowledge is a judgment of value, why not hold all valuable judgments to be true? Because the criterion of knowledge certifies the process of cognition, not the content. At times we might find satisfaction in believing that God hates our enemies; but, to justify this or any belief, we must experience self-realization in the process of arriving at it, in distinction from its content.

Let us try a third view, that the rationally allowable is simply the rationally probable, and that religious feeling and volition are to stop with this. This is apparently the position of the "religion of science." Like the preceding views, it is one-sided, though in the opposite direction. It proposes that our extrarational functions shall be like flatboats towed by a steam tug; they are to have no power of motion within themselves. Yet they are as original as reason; and since reason itself is, in final analysis, merely impulse of a particular kind, there appears no ground for the assumption of superior authority.

The defects of these three views may be schematized as follows: The second allows religious feeling an undue lordship over reason; the first is loyal to knowledge in its higher degrees, but not in its lower; the third concedes the rights of knowledge in all its degrees, but places unconstitutional limitations upon other functions. A fourth adjustment, free from both kinds of one-sidedness, is still conceivable. We may recognize the exclusive authority of rational criteria in respect to all judgments, not excepting those concerning the objects of religion; but, at the same time, we may recognize the right of feeling to accent itself as feeling, of impulse to go forth as impulse, of imagination to luxuriate in its own realm, of will to assert itself as personal choice. That is, we may allow the extrarational to functionate freely, but not to invade the sphere of fact and truth. There may be wonder, awe, hope, fear, and even joyful contemplation and glad self-surrender, at the very moment we recognize the lack of even probable evidence for the existence of the objects we have conceived. Just as we can act as though

the next premier of Great Britain would certainly be a liberal, though there is no such certainty, so we can live as though there were a God, irrespective of the fact. We can even cultivate a habit of religious feeling, as well as activity, by mere contemplation of religious ideas; just as we can enjoy music without asking whence it comes, or whether it conforms to the laws of æsthetics. In short, faith, as distinguished from knowledge, is not assertiveness concerning facts or truths, but is the living as though we knew that which we confess to ourselves we do not know. In this there is no intimation that God is unknowable, but only that religion has a basis which need not be imperiled by changes of philosophy and theology. Nor has it been intimated that suspension of judgment as to religious truth is either desirable in itself or even consistent with high religious development. On the contrary, nothing human is at its best until it is thoroughly suffused by knowledge. Our inquiry has concerned, rather, the minimum of knowledge essential to a rudimentary religious life, and this we find to be merely the perception of the desirability of the life that religion enjoins.

Even then, if the religious world should become uncertain of its theology or its philosophy, this would not necessarily indicate lack of faith. There is ground for the suspicion that those who fear that a decay of faith is setting in have not understood the signs of the times. Perhaps the emphasis our age puts upon the practical ought to distinguish it from all preceding times as the true age of faith.

George A. Coe.

Art. VII.—THE PERSONAL ELEMENT IN SOCIAL REFORM.

One of the theories which for a long time has exercised a considerable influence upon our political thinking is that of so-called "natural rights." In substance this theory assumes that, behind all social laws and definitions, the individual, independently of the will of his fellows, is the possessor of certain inherent rights and privileges which are simply because he is a man. Belonging to him thus in the ordinary course of nature, rather than because of his personal effort to obtain them, society has no right to take them from him nor to abridge or alter them without his consent. Among these natural rights are life, personal freedom, choice of occupation, participation in making laws, and self-defense against insult or danger. "We hold these truths to be self-evident," says the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Under this theory the functions of society are such only as the individual is pleased to turn over to it, and none others, with the further important reservation that, in case of question as to the right of society to do this or that, the presumption must be in favor of the individual.

This theory of natural, inborn, and inalienable political and social rights has taken strong hold of the minds of English-speaking peoples, and seems to underlie a great amount of important legislation. But under the influence of recent social discussion the notion has received not a few rude shocks, and it is now freely intimated that before correct expression can be given to present social relations the old doctrine must be quite essentially modified, if not given up altogether. In proof of this attention is called to the undoubted historical fact that in the progress of civilization society is seen to have taken over one function after another—in each case with a consequent restriction of the field for individual activity—until, instead of the individual being looked upon as the possessor of "natural and inalienable" rights, it is actually beginning to appear that he has in fact only such rights as are granted to him by society,

which grants may at any time be changed or limited or even withdrawn altogether. In this newer view neither individual nor social rights are conceived of as immovably fixed in the nature of things. We must "rid our minds," says Jevons, "of the idea that there are any such things in social matters as abstract rights, absolute principles, indefeasible laws, inalterable rules, or anything whatever of an eternal and inflexible nature. . . . Law knows nothing of absolute principles from which we must not diverge. It is but a series of arbitrary rules, accumulated or varied from century to century, and defining the terms on which people may best live in each other's society."

Such, in briefest outline, is the doctrine which from many quarters we are being asked to accept. It seems clear that any such change of attitude is likely to have important consequences for present-day social problems. In particular, some simple economic propositions, fundamental to every discussion of social reform, and requiring no technical knowledge to bring them within the comprehension of any intelligent person, may have to be abandoned as untenable, or else be so changed in form or substance as to be virtually new. We cannot, for example, any longer speak with certainty of a "natural" return for the use of capital. The rate of interest which should prevail is not to be determined by invoking the nature of things. A few years ago certain kinds of permanent investments yielded a net return of five or six per cent; now we are glad to get four per cent, and it looks as if before many years we should have to content ourselves with three per cent or less. In the face of a general decline in the rate of interest, who will say what rate is "natural?" More than this, it cannot be maintained—we hear this said every day—that anyone has any inherent or inalienable right to interest at all. Interest is paid only because society allows it, because society chooses to have business conducted in that way; but since the right to both charge and collect interest comes from society the right may at any time be abridged or denied. Society might tax net earnings a hundred per cent or abolish interest altogether without depriving anyone of a single "natural" or inherent right.

In like manner is there need of caution in speaking about a "natural" rate of wages, although we know that this very question is sure to be discussed in connection with strikes

and labor disturbances of all kinds. It may, indeed, be said that the remuneration which is just sufficient to keep the laborer alive, and enable him to raise a family and maintain his own efficiency, is the "natural" wages; and there is no doubt a sense in which this is true. But, as we do not know just what or how much is required to sustain life, and have as yet come to no practical agreement as to what things are necessary to a workman's efficiency, a natural rate of wages may still be regarded, for practical men at least, as an abstract and not a definite notion. Under the newer theory which we are discussing the amount of reward to be given the laborer is not determinable by reference to any natural law, but depends simply and solely upon what society at any given time chooses to allow.

So, also, one cannot positively assert the existence of any "natural" rate of profits, or, for that matter, any indefeasible claim to profits at all. The right of a business man to all he can honestly make depends upon the attitude of society in that particular; society may compel a division of profits among the employees, or the devotion of a large portion of them to public uses, without invading any individual right. So of the accumulation and transmission of property; the right in the matter comes from society. Society might confiscate the estates of deceased persons, or tax large fortunes out of existence, and yet infringe upon no "natural" rights whatever, for the reason that we have no social rights except those which the State gives us. The right to work; the right to appropriate natural resources; the right to receive profits, rent, or interest; the right to own, accumulate, sell, or transmit property—what are these more than privileges extended to the individual by society, to be used under its supervision and modified or withdrawn at its pleasure?

To the average mind, attached to things as they are, zealous for the traditions of the elders, yet anxious for growth rather than stagnation, there is apt to be something repellent in the prospect of such a radical change in the theory of social relations. Yet it seems clear, if we may trust the signs of the times, that it is for the domination of some such theory that each of us, in his own way and according to his need, must prepare. Certainly, looking over the varied activities of life at

the present moment, the old theory seems to find less and less application; so far, indeed, has our practice departed from it that there is no longer a clearly discernible limit to the number or kind of industrial and social functions which may be removed, in whole or in part, from individual management and placed under the control of the State. Not a year but records many such transfers. Nor is it any longer felt to be necessary to limit public ownership and control to matters in which the community has a clear advantage over the individual. A man prominent in public life has recently declared that it may be wise for the State to undertake any public business which it can carry on with success equal to that which has characterized the administration of the same business in private hands. There is little danger of putting the case too strongly in saying that every claim to the exercise of additional authority on the part of the State, be its direction what it may, is coming to be looked upon as presumptively legitimate.

Under such conditions it might be thought that the social problems of our time are to be solved without the aid of individuals, or that at best the contribution which any one person can make will be inappreciable. But, are we in truth living under a social *régime* in which the individual no longer has an opportunity? Has he no longer any duty, or office, or obligation, or responsibility? We think not; and for the reason that when we get close to the matter it will appear that in at least a few important respects the new theory is after all not so very different from the old. A commonplace truth, though one often forgotten, helps us to see this. Society is made up of individuals; the word is only a title or name for "all of us." And we are members of society, not because we want to be, or because we agree to be, or because it asks us to be, but simply because we cannot possibly be anything else; we belong to society in the nature of things. Whatever may have been true in the early history of the human race, we cannot now think of a man as by any possibility severing his connection with society. The social outcast is as much a member of the State as is the highest dignitary in it. Yet it should not be forgotten that the community is not stronger than its weakest part, and can have no virtues not possessed by its individual members. So far from its being true that the mere bringing together of a considerable number

of persons, no one of whom has any virtues in particular, will somehow result in the formation of a strong, intelligent, and effective society, there is nothing more certain than that the only way to insure strength, intelligence, and effectiveness in the community is sedulously to cultivate those qualities in the individual; and when we lay the burden of social reform upon society—which has often meant laying it upon no one in particular—we ought to remember that *we* are society, and that no reform is possible without a type of character proportioned to the work to be done.

It devolves upon the individual member of the community, then, as it always has, to shape the ideals of society, to set in motion those connected trains of ideas which after a time come to be accepted as part of the intellectual and moral basis of a permanent and progressive state. To do this demands training, knowledge, observation, experience, culture, and clear thinking; and the opportunities for achievement in each of these directions were never greater or more readily available than they are to-day. The next step is to control, as far as possible, the practical workings of society; and here again the call is distinctly for individuals, for persons, for men. The State of its own motion has never yet made any great reform. Every advance has been preceded by the intelligent, active, and untiring efforts of a few men to impress their ideas upon the social institutions of their time, and to put into practical operation the ideas which they have conceived and expressed. Civil service reform, good city government, temperance, sound currency, arbitration, organized charity, freedom of conscience, and every other vital question which at the present time presses for consideration represents the persistent efforts of a very few persons, numerically of small account in any community, to turn society in the direction in which they would have it go; and we do well to hold in honor the few men and women of thoughtfulness, unselfishness, and faith whose work makes possible the great awakening of the civic conscience, the brave struggle for the maintenance of free government, and the bold insistence upon the rights of the many over the rights of the few, which characterize the days in which we live.

It is not enough to feel assured that the world will go right ultimately; the responsibility laid upon us is to make sure that

it goes right in our day. And when we say that society is only another name for individuals in the aggregate, and that what the individual is society is likewise, it must be quite clear that this is only a different way of saying that, in proportion as we make of ourselves that which we wish society to become, in just that proportion will society conform to the ideals we set for it. This power of projecting ourselves into the future, thinking of ourselves as we would like to be, and so arranging the details of life as to make steadily for that end, is the great opportunity still held out to us; and there is no more hopeful sign in these discontented times than the increasing extent to which we are coming to realize that, in all matters of social welfare, our privileges and our duties very closely correspond. The theory of the superiority of social over individual rights may prevail; but to the individual the result will be gain rather than loss, if so be that from the changed relation there comes a clearer and juster view of the common life of which he is a part—which is greater than he is and whose will he must obey, but whose ideals he may fashion, for whose success he is personally responsible, and whose future, whatever its character, is in his hands whether he will or will not.

William MacDonald.

Art. VIII.—COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

The study of comparative religion is of great importance and of increasing interest. Facilities for its study, however, are but of recent date. The steamship, the railroad, the press, the telegraph, have made all the world akin. Indeed, the world may be said to be just now coming to self-consciousness. It is taking a vast deal of interest and not a little pride in its own history, its origins, customs, civilizations, religions, arts, sciences, monuments, and even in its ruins. The solidarity of the race, the fact of the brotherhood of man, has taken such hold on us that nothing escapes notice, because there is no great nor small when the future is to come out of the present, as the present has come out of the past, and when the whole world thrills to a single touch. It is no longer a matter of indifference to us what men believe, or how they worship; nor can we afford to shut our eyes to whatever excellences of doctrinal and ethical teachings their systems of religion may contain, nor by any possibility fail to offer them in the spirit of genuine brotherhood substitutes for their teachings, modes of worship, and practical life at such points as theirs shall clearly seem to us to be inadequate. For we must regard the history and interests of humanity as a whole, and find in the fact of the fatherhood of God that religion, which is everywhere diffused, must everywhere mean something to all, and this not least of all, "that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."

That there has been a great deal of prejudice against the Old World religions there can be no doubt. Some of it, no doubt, has been well enough founded, but the most of it has been of that ignoble type which is born of ignorance. The ignorance of the western world concerning the eastern, and still more so of the eastern concerning the western, until within a hundred years or so, was profound, and as excusable perhaps as it was profound. But the subjugation of India by Great Britain; the recovery of the Sanskrit language by Sir William Jones and other eminent scholars and investigators; the establishment of political and commercial relations with China and

Japan; the founding of missions on a large scale by the leading Churches of Christendom among all the great oriental nations—all these events have given us access not only to the sacred books of the great religions, but also to their forms of worship, and to the social and moral condition of the people, thus enabling us to form some just opinion as to the utility of their religions. But even now we would do well to form our opinions with becoming modesty. To "see men as trees, walking," is not to see clearly, and we are not sure even yet that our vision is clearer than that in respect to the Old World religions. The Parliament of Religions, recently held in Chicago, undoubtedly did much to dissipate prejudice, but there is still too much of that rascally vice left to be credible to, or consistent with, either intelligent faith or Christian catholicity. It matters not whether it be the Archbishop of Canterbury, too bigoted to give the Parliament his influence and blessing, or some other bishop who, after such an exhibition of religious fraternity as the world had never witnessed before, could speak of the Parliament as a "masquerade of the old effete religions on the platform of our modern civilization," or words to that effect—all such narrowness and bigotry were put to shame by the brotherliness and catholicity of Mazoomdar, of the Brahmo-Somaj, of Pung Kwang Yu, the Confucianist, and of Dharmapala, the Buddhist from Ceylon. It was indeed an ecumenical council of the world's great religions, a love feast of the world's great faiths, in which Hindu and Parsee, Confucianist and Taoist, Buddhist and Mohammedan, Jew and Christian, Catholic and Protestant, met together to find that they had much in common, and this especially, "that God hath not left himself without witness in any nation." It was worth all it cost that such a truth should be so beautifully illustrated and so abundantly confirmed.

There can be little surprise that the first workers in comparative religion should have produced alarm. The idea of a science of religion implied things in common among the religions, true and false, and it implied also inheritance and evolution. Looking at it superficially, as at first we are almost certain to do, it was feared that the effect of the study would be to reduce all religions to the plane of human inventions, and so bring discredit upon all. And such, indeed, was the

evident purpose of some who first began to investigate in this direction. But, thus far, what has been the result? Certainly not what many of the enemies of religion had expected, or what some of its friends had feared. For the highest has not been brought down, but the lower have been brought up; that is to say, instead of having shown that Christianity, the highest, is human and full of folly, it has been shown that it stands peerless among the religions of the world. At the same time it has been made clear that there is something divine, something of God, in even the lowest religions; that the All-Father has taught his children, even according to their ability, to understand him in all lands and in all the ages. How else could he show that his love is universal and that his care is over all? The science of religion, then, is vindicating God. It relieves him from the charge of partiality, and vindicates both the wisdom and goodness which provide for man according to his needs and capacity, not forgetting in our problem that capacity is largely the measure of need. In this way it finds a place for Moses as well as for Jesus, for the pedestal as well as for the topstone which is brought on with shoutings of "Grace, grace unto it."

But the great thing to be overcome in order to a profitable study of comparative religion, we must further insist, is ignorance. In so far as we approach the subject as partisans we are disqualified. A judicial frame of mind is necessary in order to a fair consideration of all the elements in the case. We must not judge any religion by its worst specimens, and certainly not by what its enemies may say of it. Even Christianity itself could not bear the test of being handled in that way. In every case doctrines and worship should be interpreted in the best sense that they bear. It is not so much what they would mean to us as it is what they mean to them. That is a vital matter, and it would seem that there can be little further excuse for misinterpretation and misapprehension, since able papers—by representative men, many of whom were commissioned, or at least selected, because of their special fitness for that work—were read in the Parliament of Religions, which expounded nearly all the faiths, little as well as great. A careful study of those papers should yield large results in the way of correcting and enlarging our views and

opinions respecting the various religions of the world. We need not shrink from giving them each and all their full meed of praise, because to do justice to other religions is not to do injustice to our own. It is not necessary, we should think, that our religion has less truth and power because other religions have some truth. This is not a case in which others can have nothing, even if we have all. It is possible, nay, it is certain, that at many points they and we have much in common. Our thesis, "comparative religion," presupposes that there is much in common, or there could be no comparison. What is in common should be considered to have the very stamp of God on it as being fundamental, the true bread of heaven, without which the religious nature in man would perish. Where the paths diverge, there, it may be, some have lost their way. Of course, we cannot quite assume that the divergent paths are none of them essential; but we do know that, however a man may miss his way in respect to creeds and ceremonies, if he fear God and work righteousness he has kept in the middle of the road that leads to eternal life. All the great religions emphasize the necessity of a pure life. That is one thing they all have in common, and that cannot be bad in one system which is good in another. That and all other things which religions have in common are either all good or all bad, wherever one finds them. The necessity is upon us to say all good, because in no other way can we account for their universality. Man, the "religious animal," as Burke calls him, must have something to meet and satisfy the wants of his religious nature. The universality of the religious nature in man, the exponent of which is the universal hunger of the soul after God, no matter by what name he may be called, or whether he be clearly apprehended or not, has not been sufficiently noted. The universality of religion, including dogma, worship, and practice, not excluding its crudities as absurdities, is a fact that must be explained. It all means something, and it is as unscientific to pass over it without explanation as it would be to leave the mountains or any other great fact in nature unexplained in geology. The moral and religious nature of man is entitled to a soil in which to grow. The barren rocks and heaths of infidelity and agnosticism afford no such soil, and, besides being an affront to his intelligence, are repudiated by

man's spiritual nature. The search after God is not unwarranted and not in vain; the effort to find out how best to live is not without utility; the hope of a future life is not without an inspiration that reacts favorably upon the present; and all our questionings after God, all our strivings after purity in the present life, and all our hopes for the future find their own best answer in the heart-hunger of the human soul.

In speaking of what is in common among great religions we must begin with teachings and faiths in respect to the existence of God. It has been said that no people has been found, or can be found, that is utterly atheistic. On the other hand, it has generally been claimed that Buddhism is both atheistic and nihilistic; but it may be reasonably doubted whether *Nirvana* is annihilation, and whether pantheism is not a more exact equivalent for its teaching in respect to God than is atheism. When the Buddhist teaches that there is no beginning and no end in all things, and therefore concludes there is no "one creator," he does not, as we understand him, mean to deny that there is God. The Japanese Buddhist holds that Vairokana is not the same as one creator; that is to say, though there may not be a creator, there may be God. And yet it must be acknowledged that most writers hold Buddhism to be atheistic. And again, it might seem that the old Turanian family is without any proper knowledge of God; but a closer study will convince us to the contrary. In eastern Asia, it is true, the idea generally prevails that all things are without beginning or end, and therefore that a creator without beginning or end is unnecessary and superfluous; and yet, even in that section, there is some name to represent Deity. In Chinese, "Tien," as Max Müller has shown us, originally meant the sky; but it has come to mean more than sky; it is the "one" and the "great;" and because it is one, they hence conclude that there cannot be many gods. And we further have Müller for authority that this Chinese "Tien" has passed through nearly all the phases, from the lowest to the highest; that "Dyans," the Aryan name for sky, passed in the poetry, religion, mythology, and philosophy of India and Greece. It will be a painful surprise to some to learn, though it ought not to be, that away back among some parent stock, and in some root-language from which it may be all ancient and modern languages have sprung,

God was known and called by some name that might have meant to them exactly what our names of him mean to us. Older than the Latin, the Greek, and possibly also than the Sanskrit, is the prayer to the "Heaven-Father," the "Dyaus Pitar" of the Veda. Even Moses borrowed much from the Egyptians, and he did well to do so. His "I AM THAT I AM" is but the "Nuk pu Nuk" of the old Egyptian inscriptions. God's name is in all lands, and there has been some thought of him, however imperfect it may have been, that has everywhere and always favorably affected the great mass of mankind. And it was no disparagement of Moses that he used what he found in Egypt that was helpful any more than it was of Jesus that he taught many things after Moses. In each case it was the present legitimately building on the past.

The doctrine of the Trinity, or of three in one, variety in unity, is also common to many of the great religions. It is Egyptian as well as Hindu, and antedates in those religions by many centuries any Christian statement of that doctrine. And there were incarnations before that of Jesus—Krishna and Osiris, for example—with many incidents connected therewith, almost identical with those of the gospels. In the case of the Egyptian Osiris, he was killed, recovered from the dead, and became the judge of men. Such traditions are startling, and one's first impulse is to cry, "Myth, myth! they are all myths, not excepting the incarnation of Jesus!" But a truer, profounder view is, that as Confucius prophesied that the holy man should come from the West, so these represent the heart-longings of the world for the coming of the divine man, and are prophetic of his advent. In the same line is the fact that a doctrine of the Logos was expounded by Philo before it was by John; but it remained for John to give it such a setting, to put it in such concrete form, that it is his doctrine of the Logos that the world cares to know about, and not that of Philo, for Philo gave us an abstraction that the world cares little for, while John gave us the concrete Christ whom the world loves and adores. And, still further, as the life is more than creed or worship, there are common to all the religions moral codes which, though not identical, are approximately sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life. Even before the time of Abraham the Egyptians had a moral code which, though it may not have

carried with it the same divine authority, did cover substantially the same ground as that delivered by Moses to the Israelites in the Ten Commandments; and Buddhism, it is claimed, though supposed to be atheistic, had the most perfect moral code in the world prior to Christianity. And the rules of Confucius for the regulation of men in all their social relations were certainly of a very high order. There is no religion, as Max Müller has said, that does not say, "Do good; avoid evil." There is none that does not contain what Rabbi Willet calls the quintessence of religion, the simple warning, "Be good, my boy." "'Be good, my boy,' may be a very short catechism; but let us add to it, 'Be good, my boy, for God's sake,' and we have in it very nearly the whole of the law and the prophets." In all religions, too, there has been consciousness of sin, penance, sacrifice, prayer, contemplation, and worship; in all a more or less well-directed effort to overcome the evil, and to raise life to its best possible conditions. We have nothing to do at present with the vagaries and incongruities of religion, with reasons for faith that are contradictory, with ideals for life that are imperfect, with forms of worship which are grotesque and foolish, or with lives that are immoral. All these things we must expect because of the limitations of the finite, for we cannot conceive how, constituted as man is, they can be avoided; but that all the religions should have so much in common that has to do with the well-being of man in the present life, not to speak now of a life beyond, bespeaks for them all not only a common but also a divine origin.

It is a wonder to many, not to say also a suspicious surprise, that the great religions do hold so much in common. It is a fact, however, that can be rationally accounted for. As the science of language points to the unity of the human race, to some far-off Akkad and Shinar where humanity was cradled, so also does the science of religion point, as we have a right to expect it would, to the unity of revelation and faith. The Aryan, Semitic, Hamitic, and Turanian peoples, all variously distributed into smaller streams, have come down to us from some primal center, and have brought along with them their mythologies and traditions, their revelations and religions, which, though variously named, are sufficiently alike to show their kinship. It is no wonder then that the Babylonian tab-

lets and Hebrew Scriptures should have similar accounts of creation and other early events in the history of the world, and that the mythologies and anthropologies of so many nations should bear upon their very face the evident marks of a common origin. Neither is it any wonder that the invocation in the Veda to the "Heaven-Father" should find its equivalent in so many languages, or its highest and final expression in the universal prayer, "Our Father who art in heaven." It is no disparagement of Jesus that he borrowed the words "Heaven-Father," but it is his glory that he illuminated them with a meaning that they never had before. For if it does not detract from him, when teaching Semitic peoples of God, that he used the same names which were used before there were such languages as Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, and before there were such peoples as the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, and the Jews, why should it disparage him as a teacher if we find that men worshiped God under the name of the "Heaven-Father" before there were such languages as the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, and before there were such peoples as the Hindus, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutons? No matter what words were used, it is Christ alone who "hath showed us the Father." It is his glory that filled the words "Father in heaven" with a divine content, namely, the universal fatherhood of God. And, because of this, we should not let the unity of the race too largely explain the fact that the contents of religion are everywhere so much the same. Men have a common Father, and this universal Father has exercised a universal care. He has not neglected his children. Divine neglect cannot account for diverse human conditions without giving us a God whom we could neither love nor worship. But the God we love has been in the world from the beginning, and will be in it to the end. He has written his laws everywhere, and has raised up great teachers in every nation. Confucius and Buddha, Zoroaster and Socrates, Moses and Jesus, were all great religious teachers, and each taught much that was common to them all, many sayings of Buddha and Jesus even being almost identical. But as Mazoomdar has beautifully said, "In the high realm of that undying wisdom the Hebrew, the Hindu, the Mongolian, the Christian are ever as one, for that wisdom is no part of themselves, but the self-revelation of God. The Hindu books have

not plagiarized the Bible, Christianity has not plundered Buddhism, but universal wisdom is like unto itself everywhere." God is indeed one, and his revelation is one also; that is to say, it is all in the same line. It may be differently apprehended, because his children are not of equal ability, and therefore cannot find how to understand him alike. They are not all yet able to bear his complete self-revelation. God in Christ, "reconciling the world unto himself," is the highest truth. It is the truth of God and man, not apart, but together. The great teachers are bringing men to Jesus, and Jesus is bringing them on to that. It is his glory that never man spoke like himself. We have named him along with the other great teachers, but he is too large for possible classification with any of them. The teaching of the fatherhood of God is distinctively his, as also by implication and inference, at least, is that of the brotherhood of man. He gives God and man in such relations that they can live together. He does not, with Hinduism, lose the finite in the infinite, and so rob this life of its significance; nor does he, with the Buddhist, do away with the infinite in order to make room for the finite, and so rob man of God's help to lead a virtuous life. His doctrine of sin and salvation is unique. In his view sin is a personal matter. He knows nothing about Adam or imputed sin or transmitted depravity, and so also he knows nothing about appropriating some other man's good works and righteousness in order to salvation. The difficulties in the way of the prodigal's return to the father are, in his view, not governmental, but moral. Salvation is a personal matter, and is achieved by a faith that obeys. With him obedience is salvation; or, as John puts it, "He that doeth righteousness is righteous." But, in order to this, man must be born from above, which means that God is a great factor in human salvation. The inspiration to return and the power to receive and forgive are alike in God. Hence the prayer, "Our Father who art in heaven . . . forgive us our trespasses . . . deliver us from evil."

In the hands of Jesus the present life gained tremendous significance from the life which is to come. Confucius, on being asked as to the condition of the soul after leaving this world, answered, "We do not know this life; how then can we know death?" How incomparably superior are the words of

Jesus, "Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions." Blessed words are these, words that have filled the world with light and hope! Jesus alone "hath brought life and immortality to light." And so a comparison of Jesus with other great teachers will at all points display his unequaled and superlative greatness. Even an old truth gained new life and power and beauty by the new setting that he gave it. The so-called golden rule of Confucius is altogether another and a diviner thing in the teaching of Jesus. Changed from its negative to its positive form it marks all the difference between the doctrine of reciprocity as given by Confucius and the "new commandment" as taught by Jesus Christ—a commandment which implies a higher ethical and religious standard than was ever before known to man. It was fit that he who could teach in such a strain should give the form of prayer that was used at the World's Parliament of Religions; and that men of all nations and of all faiths in this nineteenth century of the Lord Christ should say, "Our Father who art in heaven;" for it was in itself a distinct prophecy, and in a large way also the fulfillment of the prediction that "every knee" shall bow and every tongue "confess that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

But no study in religions can be satisfactory which does not bring them each and all to the test of experience and fruit. Jesus said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." That, after all, is the supreme test. God and man must be put into personal harmonious relations. Men, seeking after God, "if haply" they may "find him," must be found by God seeking after men. This seeking God, trying to reconcile his children, and glad to receive them when they return to him, is Christ's greatest teaching. But this at-one-ment, in order to be effective, must be to man not a mere theory, but a conscious, vitalizing fact. The birth from above, the effusion and infusion of the divine Spirit upon and into humanity, can alone insure that altruistic spirit which, whether in Jesus or in us, sacrifices self in order to the salvation of the lost. "God with us," "Christ in us," give life, experience, and power, and fully account for that characteristic of Christianity which so much distinguishes it from all other religions, namely, its vitalizing force as

exhibited in the political, social, moral, and religious condition of the peoples when its best work has been done. The elevation of woman, the significance and sacredness of childhood, the abolition of slavery, the improved condition of the masses, the hospital for the sick, and the asylum for the unfortunate, together with other innumerable humanities, characterize everywhere Christianity's humane sway. It is no accident then that Christian nations to-day are leading the world in art and science, in inventions and humanities, in morals and religion, and are dominating it also by their power. It is no accident that India is springing out of its former darkness and chaos into the light and order and beauty of a new day, under the inspiration of Christian teaching and rule. It is no accident that Japan should have begun to put on new power since even its partial reception of Christianity. The entrance of God's pure word everywhere giveth light. Even if our Christianity, as we have it, misinterpreted and maligned, apologized for more than is needed or helpful, can do all this, what might it not do if it could only interpret the Christ so that in all minds Christ and Christianity should stand for one?

And now we are ready to accept the implied challenge of Colonel T. W. Higginson, that "the broadest religion is the best." By that very sign may we not claim that Christianity is the best? If we may not claim it for the Christianity of the Churches, the Christianity that has been corrupted and limited by the very work it has done and the victories it has won—though even that we will not concede—we may and will claim it for the Christianity of Jesus Christ. For what can be broader than the "Father in heaven," the "one God and Father of all;" than the everywhere Spirit, "a measure of which is given to every man to profit withal;" than that love for the world which gave an "only begotten Son" in order to the salvation of the lost; than the commission to go "into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;" than the invitation, "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely?" Or, what can be broader or more catholic than the purpose to bring the "other sheep" not of this fold, that there may be "one fold and one shepherd?" Or, finally, what can be broader or better than the hope immortal, and the life eternal, for which Jesus alone lays sufficient foundation?

J. F. Schaffer

Art. IX.—METHODS AND PRINCIPLES—A STUDY IN METHODIST POLITY.

Principles are invariable and eternal. Methods are variable and temporal. The doctrines of Methodism we hold to be scriptural, and, in the main, phrased in conformity with the large and brotherly spirit of the New Testament. The principles at the root of her economy—such as itinerancy, episcopacy, the two orders, government by laymen and pastors—while they are not of divine ordering, have, however, so well approved themselves that it may be taken for granted that there is no serious intention of disturbing or displacing them. When, however, this has been said, it still remains true that a variety of methods, customs, and practices do exist concerning which there are grave differences of opinion. As time slips by these differences are becoming more and more accentuated, and it is easy to see that the cry for change grows more clamorous every year. This is just what we should expect. Methodism at the beginning was, in the main, a change of methods. She introduced no distinctively new doctrine; she simply emphasized and brought into prominence the doctrines of the Reformation which had either been obscured or forgotten. Her methods were simply the exigencies of her condition, or, if one prefers, the providential guidings starting her on her career.

Those who oppose changes of any kind are fond of saying that "Methodism is the child of Providence." By this they seem to mean that in its initial stages Methodism was divinely guided. Men of great brain and large heart were by God called for specific work, and by his Spirit they were specially illumined. Hence arises the opposition to change and the inclination to think that whoever offers any modification of existing methods is worthy the fate of those who impiously touched the ark of Israel. What they really mean to say is that Methodism was the child of Providence, but that now Providence has withdrawn and that there is neither voice, nor sign, nor any that regards the call and cry for guidance and for light. The underlying assumption is that God has fixed once and forever the metes and bounds of our Zion, and that it only remains for us to move in the cut grooves and the well-defined orbits of

the past. We are of those who veritably believe that Methodism not only was, but still is, the child of Providence. While we believe that John Wesley was a Spirit-guided man, we also believe that there are men to-day who are equally so guided; and we are convinced that if Mr. Wesley lived in the end of the nineteenth, rather than of the eighteenth, century he would be the last man to oppose change simply because it was change. The appeal to Wesley, then, can have no weight with thoughtful men, save as that appeal can be shown to ground itself in reason and in its adaptability to the needs of to-day. "God is not dumb, that he should speak no more."

Sixteen consecutive years in the pastorate must necessarily give any observant man a fairly correct view of the strength or weakness of our various methods. In dealing, then, with some of these methods let it be understood that we assume the pastor's standpoint and speak out of an experience born of a conscientious attempt to faithfully administer the work committed to our care.

According to our present rule no one can be admitted into full membership in our Church until he has met at least six months in class. It will be admitted, we think, that this rule, obligatory upon every church and pastor, is in many places far from being obeyed in its spirit and intent. It is not denied that we make a technical assignment, or that we organize a special probationers' class expected to go out of existence so soon as it shall have served its purpose. It is a temporary bridge across an ugly gulf. The contention here is that the rule as to class is, in very many cases, observed only by a sort of moral legerdemain, by the use of temporary makeshifts, and that when one looks closely at the present practice he is permitted to doubt whether it conduces more to a high than to a low moral tone. Instead of spending time in bewailing the decadence of the class, would it not be well to face the facts and see if it cannot be modified, improved, and adapted to present-day life? Dr. Stevens clearly shows that originally the class was not at all designed as a plan for spiritual culture. It was purely a financial plan, a good medium for collecting the "penny-a-week and shilling-a-quarter" pledges to the chapel debts. Afterward it was seen to be a good agency for heart culture, and was so used. Another thing that must not be

forgotten is that originally the class leader was the pastor. Preachers were few, were absent on preaching tours, and if a member was absent or sick or careless the class leader visited, comforted, and counseled. If to-day the leader does not find his members in class, what does he do? Visit? No, he scolds those who are present, or he inveighs against the decadence of the class-meeting spirit. We are not at all inclined to blame the leaders, as many of them are so situated that they cannot visit. The demands of business practically prohibit them from such work. If our time were as the time of a century since, if class leaders to-day could do the work of their predecessors, old-time classes could still be profitably maintained; but since neither of these things is so, nor can be made so, it is evident that some modification needs to be made. It is little better than insincerity to laud this means of grace and make it obligatory for six months, and then to let it go by the board. In adapting our class system to the life of to-day we must remember that very many of our members, and in many sections an increasing number, make no pretense of attending class. It will not do to say that these people are formalists, worldlings, or backsliders. To so state would be to utter a gross slander and a palpable untruth. Among these nonattendants will be found some of our most intelligent and spiritual people, men and women the charm of whose companionship is their intelligent devotion to the spirit of Methodism and the evident sincerity and undoubted piety of their daily living. It will not do to thrust them aside with a pietistic sneer; nor is it wise to continue to keep them in the attitude of rule-breakers. On the other hand, every candid observer must admit that there are thousands to whom class attendance is not only a rule to be obeyed, a duty to be performed, but even more, a privilege to be enjoyed. Probably no service is capable of yielding more genuine delight than the class, when it fits into the circumstances of one's life and the aptitude of his mind. What is true of individuals is equally true with respect to churches. Some of our churches are so circumstanced, so supplied with suitable leaders, that class meetings prosper; others, again, are of such a sort that no pastor, however great his interest or enthusiasm, has been able to give to the class anything but a feeble and fitful existence. The growth of our young people's organizations was something

that could not be foreseen a century since, and needs to be taken into consideration in any readjustment that is to be made. Of course, any change in our class rule necessitates a corresponding change in our probationary system. A proper modification, and one that would seem to meet all the requirements of the case, would be to make class attendance optional rather than obligatory. Let it be presented in the light of a most delightsome privilege, and not as a positive duty, and thus give to the individual member his choice as to methods of spiritual culture. The probationary term may then be continued as at present, or, if it seems wise, either reduced or extended, and probationers be admitted into full membership upon the recommendation of the stewards and the answering of the present disciplinary questions.

The question which, next to the class and probationary system, most taxes the ingenuity of the pastor who would at once be wise, loyal, and conscientious is probably the amusement question. Concerning this so much has already been written that there is not need of many words. Nor is there expectation of saying anything especially original. A chief indictment against ¶ 240 is that it is neither obeyed nor enforced. In its present form it is mandatory, and the member who deliberately attends a theater or a dancing party for the third time, after proper advisement, should, in conformity with the rule, be expelled. Either the rule means that or it is meaningless. Now, it is notorious that the rule is not enforced. It either should be enforced or modified. A more far-reaching objection to the rule may be found in the fact that the theory underlying it runs directly counter to the whole Protestant position. It is the essence of Romanism to deny liberty of individual judgment and to make the Church the guardian of the individual conscience. Loyalty to the mandates of the Church secures eternal blessedness, and that Church therefore logically may prescribe concerning all the *minutiæ* of a man's daily life. Not so Protestantism. With us liberty of judgment and of conscience is a cardinal principle, and we have no right to create, or attempt to create, an artificial conscience. Broad principles grounded in the word of God we may declare and maintain, but the attempt to regulate by statute the details of every man's doing is to entangle us again in the yoke of mediæval bondage. Many who

believe the rule unwise yet hesitate to favor any change, because such action will cause us to be misunderstood and our position misinterpreted. That has happened to the Methodist Episcopal Church before, and we are well able to stand it again. It is better to be misunderstood than to be wrong. Our Church ought not to be a weather-vane. The General Conference Journal for 1892 shows that, while many petitioners prayed for the removal or the modification of the rule, not a few, including many of our young people in the West, strenuously insisted on its retention. It would seem that the matter might easily be adjusted in a satisfactory manner by the retention of our general rule on the subject of amusements and the relegation of ¶ 240, or at least the questionable and debatable portion of it, to the Appendix, as being an expression of the godly judgment of the Church concerning the questions therein discussed. The present general rule is sufficient to enable any wise pastor to weed incarnate worldliness out of the Church.

It may be taken for granted that itinerancy is a settled part of Methodist economy. While we find a few who would abolish it altogether, it is doubtless true that the rank and file, both of the ministry and of the laymen, like the system and will not consent to its destruction. This being so, it is equally true that there is a growing conviction that the principle itself must be made more flexible and less arbitrary. Holding to the principle as we do, believing it to be the best system of ministerial supply that has yet appeared, not being unmindful of the dangers and infelicities of change, none the less we think changes ought to and surely will come. Originally Methodist ministers changed about because the supply was not equal to the demand. This was true in Wesley's time, true in Asbury's day, but only partially true to-day. In the settled portions of the country there is practically a preacher for every preaching place. Thus one necessity for the old-time itinerancy has vanished, and with it one phase of itineranecy itself. We do not find men now campaigning the length of a county or of a State. Originally the itinerant preacher had a pastor in the class leader who was settled in one place; this is not now possible, and hence makes the longer stay of the preacher a greater necessity than formely.

A tendency of to-day is organization with central control.

This is evident in industrial, civic, and literary life. It is also coming to be evident in ecclesiastical life. Conwell in Philadelphia, Dickinson in Boston, Greer in New York, are the executive heads of great institutions. The men under them may be changed, but to change them by the tick of the clock would be the height of folly. Now, the institutional church, so called, is not needed everywhere, but it is needed somewhere. And somewhere the Methodist form of it is needed. There is not a great city in the land where one or more such churches of our denomination ought not to be found; and in many a town of from twenty to thirty thousand we could capture the middle classes for the next half century if only we were equipped to do the work that should be done. The preacher of to-day is not merely a herald to call men to repentance. He is a master builder fitting stones into an enduring temple. He must touch the whole life of his town—civic, social, commercial, literary, philanthropic, and religious. Is the Methodist preacher doing this? Is it possible for him to do it under existing conditions? An answer may be found in the fact that in an elaborate illustrated article written by Mr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, entitled "The Higher Life of New York City," * there is not seen the face of a single Methodist nor the portrayal of any Methodist institution as a force in that "higher life." This is not saying that there are none worthy of a place in the pages mentioned; but it is at least an evidence that the impression made by our work and our workers is all too small. Now, it requires no great depth of thought to understand why as yet Methodism has developed no such eminently great work or workers. Many a man has been deterred from even beginning a work of the kind indicated, because he could hardly get it well begun before he would be forced to move. His successor, with the best intentions, might be woefully unqualified for such work, and what he started would stand a babel tower—a monument of his folly. No such work as has been done by Conwell or Dickinson can even be contemplated under our system of universal and arbitrary change. If the large amount of money expended in "advance movements" in New York had been put into one of our existing institutions under the control and

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management of a fit and permanent leader, would not the results have been larger and worthier?

Undoubtedly the time has come when Methodism should make some suitable provision for the enlarging of her activities and for conserving and using the power of fit men for fit work and in the fit place. It seems not a little singular that Methodism, which in the person and practice of Wesley was so far ahead of the age with respect to philanthropic work, is now a good laggard in the race. The old Foundry was the seedling of the present institutional church. It instructed and clothed children, ministered to the physical and intellectual as well as the spiritual needs of men and women, and seems to have anticipated nearly all the agencies now so effectively employed in various forward movements. Methodism has its great hold upon the middle classes, and in nearly every factory town and village it could double and treble its influence and its power if it would only do something besides preach and pray. For a long time we have despised and deprecated endowment. It is an exceedingly difficult thing to make either the ministry or the laity see that church endowment is a good thing. To endow a hospital or a college is most praiseworthy, but to endow a church is a bit of folly, we are told. Our papers nearly all take this ground, yet our Episcopalian friends evidently think differently. Could Trinity, or Grace, or St. George do their mighty works without their practical endowments in buildings and bonds? There is a great opportunity for the man who will be brave, generous, and wise enough to forever lift some Methodist church by munificent endowment out of the realm of chance with respect to its benevolent and philanthropic activities. When this is done, then it will be possible to group all philanthropic work under the church, and it will be done in the name of Christ. At present much of such work is outside of the church, and by many it is supposed to be in spite of the church. The truth is that nine tenths of the support of all such movements comes from the church, yet it gets but slight credit therefor.

For the development and carrying out of such work as has here been indicated it is evident that permanent leadership is essential. In making any modification of our itinerant system in the direction suggested two things at least are obvious. The

first is that the Quarterly Conference should no longer be the creature of the pastor. Provision should be made for the making of that body more thoroughly representative of the membership than it now is. The second is that no radical change, such as the absolute abrogation of the limit, should be made without the consent of the laity. The ministry may and rightly should take the initiative, should reason and counsel, but it should by no means attempt to coerce the membership. If the time is not ripe for the removal it doubtless will be soon; at least it is ripe for a modification permitting some men to remain in some places, and that modification should not be delayed beyond the session of the coming General Conference.

A consideration of the composition and work of the General Conference itself gives clear evidence of the need of readjustment. The question of membership is already at the front. The inequalities of the present system are easily discernible. A Conference of only fifteen members is entitled to two delegates, a Conference of three hundred members to nine, ministerial and lay. Five small Conferences, with from seventy-five to a hundred members, can outvote a Conference with a membership of three hundred and more. The discrepancy is more evident if we take into account the number of church members. Already the size of the body makes it unwieldy and renders careful legislation very difficult. Such a body is peculiarly liable to emotional waves, and is apt to be sensitive as much to the fervency of the demagogue as to the wisdom of the statesman. It now seems evident that the lay and ministerial delegates will be equalized in number. But, even with the proposed reduction of ministerial representation to one in sixty-five, the body will be far too large for the purposes of a deliberative assembly. In the *Methodist Review* for March–April, 1891, the late Dr. Sandford Hunt considers the two-house plan as advocated in several General Conferences by Dr. W. H. Perrine. To our mind the arguments of Drs. Perrine and Hunt have not been undermined nor their positions successfully controverted. Two houses, in which the ministry and laity would meet, deliberate, and vote separately, would allow a little larger representation of each order than would be wise or practicable if they continue to sit and act as one body. It would undoubtedly

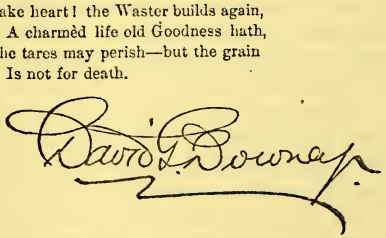
conduce to much more wise and careful legislation. It would also place a greater responsibility upon the laity. It is a well-known fact that now it is exceedingly difficult to keep the laymen till the close of the session. Under the present system they slip out, and the ministers are sufficient to keep a quorum. Under the two-house plan, with the necessity for a quorum in each, this could not happen.

A matter that should have prompt, careful, and wise consideration is our relation to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The animating cause of the separation is nonexistent. Our presence in the Southern States is irritating, and the extension of the Southern work west and north is a growing cause of unbrotherliness. Add to this that we are in the same foreign fields, and that the only distinguishing feature is the word "South," and it is readily seen that our present relations are neither wise nor Christian. Of course the difficulty is with the black man. We of the North, however, are learning that we have not been always wise in our methods of dealing with the negro. We begin to realize that brotherly love for a negro in South Carolina is one thing and brotherly love for a negro in Brooklyn is another and vastly different thing. The one is sentimental and easily cultivated, the other is factual and calls for a strain of character not yet too common among us. In Hartford and Boston, the other day, negroes of the highest character were turned away from many hotels. The South, too, is learning. She is beginning to feel that her own salvation depends upon the salvation, education, and elevation of her wards. Such men as Bishop Galloway and the late Bishop Haygood have done much to clear the atmosphere. It is evident that we are not yet ready for organic union. To force that now would be to sacrifice the negro. And though some of our leaders seem ready to thrust the black man out, if only we may clasp the Southern white to our bosom, we do not think the sentiment of the Church is with them. Nor should it be with them. We cannot sacrifice the principle for which we have stood and still stand, even for so worthy a consummation as organic union. But, while not ready for this, we ought to be, and are, evidently ready for federation. A fair recognition of the worthy work of each should not be difficult. The younger men of each section will not much longer consent to

fight over again the battles of the fathers. Where the Church South is in the home or foreign fields, and is doing true work, or will agree to do it, we not only should allow her so to do, but should help her in it. It hardly needs to be said that, if we are doing the work well in any spot on earth, our Southern brothers should give us all possible aid and comfort. The situation is difficult and delicate, but much can and should be done to lessen the strain. Confidence should replace suspicion, brotherly kindness recrimination, and mutual helpfulness take the place of denominational bigotry and haughty indifference. Surely, if slowly, by the way of federation and brotherly love, we should move toward the desired and ultimate goal of reunion.

There are many other questions that might well engage our attention—the episcopacy, the eldership, the constitution, the method of elections, and the consolidation of benevolences—but time and space forbid the further extension of this article. What is needed is not rash iconoclasm, but wise and conservative reforming; a building of the superstructure upon the old foundations; an adaptation of the underlying and universally accepted Methodistic principles to the needs of to-day by means of modern methods; and an abiding conviction that the divine Spirit is in the men and Church of to-day, even as he was in the men and the Church of the past. For the doing of this work may God grant us men with a sufficiency of wisdom, grace, and strength—men who will have faith in the eternity of principles, no matter how the exigencies of time may change the methods of application.

Take heart! the Waster builds again,
A charmèd life old Goodness hath,
The tares may perish—but the grain
Is not for death.



Art. X.—HISTORY OF THE THIRD RESTRICTIVE RULE.

All the earlier General Conferences, from 1784 to 1808 inclusive, were simply mass meetings of Methodist traveling ministers; for, as a fact, that of 1784 had sixty-three present, or exactly three fourths of all the traveling ministers. This proportion was not much, if any, less up to 1808. The members were especially careful in these mass meeting General Conferences to guard the rights of the minority, and they were careful also to avoid all rash or ill-advised changes. They adopted and sacredly kept the agreement at all their mass meeting General Conferences not to make any changes in any received rule of Methodism without a two-third majority. All the proceedings of the eleven General Conferences of the Church from 1796 to 1836 inclusive are contained in one large octavo volume of 504 pages, while the proceedings of the General Conference of 1892 fill a large octavo volume of 776 pages; that is to say, the entire proceedings of all the General Conferences of the Church for forty years occupy a little less than two thirds of the space of the proceedings of the last General Conference.

This first volume of proceedings is an unusual book. Many of the features of those early General Conferences—as the *personnel* of the delegates, their somewhat quaint methods of parliamentary procedure, and their action upon such matters as the retailing of spirituous liquors or the purchase of lottery tickets by "our preachers and private members"—would be subjects of engaging study did opportunity permit their mention. Confining our attention, however, to one point of history—in view of recently published statements challenging the validity of the third restrictive rule—we propose to give from the Journals the facts as to the restrictive rules.

On Monday afternoon, May 9, 1808, William Phœbus moved, and the motion was seconded by Daniel Hall, "that the Conference now go into the business relative to regulating and perpetuating General Conferences in future," the subject to be taken up on the morrow. A memorial from the New York Conference was also read—unanimously adopted by that body and concurred in by the New England, Western, and South

Carolina Conferences—on the necessity of a delegated General Conference. At the morning session of May 10, Bishop Asbury having called for "the mind of the Conference, whether any further regulations in the order of the General Conference be necessary," the question was "carried in the affirmative." Stephen G. Roszel, of Baltimore, and William Burke, of Kentucky, moved and seconded that a committee be appointed to draw up and present to the Conference "such regulations as they may think best to regulate the General Conferences," and the motion was carried. A motion being lost that the committee "consist of three members from each Annual Conference, their own members present," it was ordered that the committee "be formed by two from each of the Conferences, chosen by their respective Conferences." As there were seven Conferences, this made the "Committee of Fourteen," so called, on General Conference regulations. On Monday morning, May 16, the report of the Committee of Fourteen, "relative to regulating and perpetuating General Conferences," was read. In the afternoon the debate on the report was continued. It was moved and seconded by Ezekiel Cooper and Joshua Wells "to postpone the present question to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject." The motion was carried. Then the same gentlemen moved and seconded that, in the fifth section of the Discipline, after the question, "By whom shall the presiding elders be chosen?" the answer should be: "Answer 1. Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders." The debate on the presiding elder question continued on Monday afternoon, on Tuesday morning and afternoon, and also on Wednesday morning, when it was decided adversely by a vote of 52 yeas to 73 nays. At the close of the Wednesday afternoon session it was on motion voted that "the vote on the first resolution of the report of the Committee of Fourteen be taken by ballot." This first resolution of the report, that "the General Conference shall be composed of delegates from the Annual Conferences," was then put to vote, and was lost by 57 yeas to 74 nays. On Monday, May 23, near the close of the morning session, the Conference on motion decided to fix the time and place of the next General Conference. Then

it was decided to lay over this motion "until it be determined who shall compose the General Conference." Then it was voted by a large majority that the ratio of representation should be "one member for every five members of each Annual Conference." It was then moved and carried that each Annual Conference should decide for itself whether it elect by seniority or by ballot. On the afternoon of the same day the quorum of the General Conference was fixed at "two thirds of the representatives of all the Annual Conferences." On Tuesday, May 24, it was moved from the chair and carried "that the report of the Committee of Review lie on the table until the regulations concerning the General Conference be determined."

The next action was as follows: "Moved by Jesse Lee, and seconded by William Burke, that the next General Conference shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency. Carried." It was then moved by Stephen G. Roszel, and seconded by George Pickering, "that one of the superintendents preside in the General Conference: but in case of the absence of a superintendent the Conference shall elect a president *pro tem.*" This was carried. It was further moved by Roszel, and seconded by Nelson Reed, that the General Conference have "full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church under the following restrictions:"

1. The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standard or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine.

2. They shall not allow of more than one representative for every five members of the Annual Conference, nor allow of a less number than one for every seven.

3. They shall not make or change the "General Rules of the United Societies."

4. They shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee and of an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, or by committee, and of an appeal.

5. They shall not appropriate the produce of the Book Concern or of the Charter Fund to any purpose other than for the benefit of the travelling, supernumerary, superannuated, and worn-out preachers, their wives, widows, and children.

These restrictions were all adopted, as also the proviso for changing any of them. At the afternoon session of the same

day two motions about the General Conference were offered and carried—the first by Daniel Ostrander, providing for a called General Conference; and the second by the chair, declaring that the General Conference shall meet "once in four years, perpetually, at such place or places as shall be fixed on by the General Conference from time to time." On the afternoon of May 26, 1808, the last day of that General Conference, it was voted that no preacher should be sent as a delegate until he had traveled at least four full calendar years from the time of his reception on trial, he being also at the time of such election a member of an Annual Conference in full connection.

We have thus given in detail the full text of all the action of the General Conference of 1808 concerning a permanent delegated Conference. Unless in the printed Journal of the Conference of 1808 there has been serious omission or error as to the action taken at that session, the conclusion is inevitable that the equal validity of the third restrictive rule with the other restrictive rules is clearly a matter of construction. The other five restrictive rules debar any and all succeeding General Conferences from changing any and all of them, except in a certain prescribed manner. The action of the General Conference of 1808 on the third restrictive rule only restricted "the next General Conference" from changing or altering "any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." It is the theory of some that, by the modified form of its adoption, the third restrictive rule exhausted itself with the General Conference of 1812, leaving all succeeding General Conferences to act in any manner they might choose as to the episcopacy and the itinerant general superintendency. Yet that is not our opinion.

Assuming that there is no other authentic General Conference record of 1808 than this now under review, as undoubtedly there is not, it follows that the printed record of the Conference of 1808 is unimpeachable, upon any reasonable hypothesis. The following reasons are given for this conclusion:

1. It was printed by order of the Conference of 1852.

2. If the validity of this record can be impeached, so can all our early historic documents be accounted as unreliable.

3. The loss of the manuscript Journal of the General Con-

ference of 1808, for a few days, is attributable to the death of John Wilson, the secretary of that General Conference. It has no invalidating effect upon the record.

4. The book editor, Rev. John McClintock, D.D., who edited and published these Journals, vouches for the fidelity of the reprint, as a true copy of the manuscript Journals of 1808.

5. The printed Journals show great care and pains by the secretary to keep a correct and intelligible record of the proceedings. The minutes were approved at each session.

The failure of the third restrictive rule needs to be accounted for. Note the following facts: The Journal shows that after the report of the Committee of Fourteen had been read and discussed through two sessions, the morning and afternoon sessions of May 16, its further consideration was postponed "to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject." Thus, for some days, the regulations of the proposed General Conference were laid aside until the burning question of the election of presiding elders by the Annual Conferences was disposed of. It thus seems probable that the friends of the delegated General Conference regarded the passage of the regulations for the delegated General Conference as quite doubtful, if not impossible, until the mode of appointing presiding elders had been definitely settled. Is it not a reasonable hypothesis that Jesse Lee and William Burke, who took the third restrictive rule out of its place among the six restrictive rules, as they were reported by the Committee of Fourteen, and offered it to be binding on the next General Conference, concluded that if the next General Conference were thus estopped from infracting the episcopacy and itinerant general superintendency its permanent validity could not probably, and would not afterward, be infracted by succeeding General Conferences? If Lee and Burke so held it is not improbable that others would hold a like view. The probability of this theory is enhanced by Bishop Soule's resignation in 1820—the second General Conference thereafter—who, on being elected a bishop, declared that if he were ordained he would not regard the resolutions adopted six days before, providing for electing presiding elders by the Annual Conferences and making them the bishop's advisory council in stationing the

preachers. Two days thereafter he declined the office altogether, and his resignation was accepted by the Conference. This shows that in Bishop Soule's judgment there was an irreconcilable antagonism between (1) the election of presiding elders and their being made an advisory council of the bishops in stationing the preachers and (2) the third restrictive rule. Dr. Nathan Bangs gives the same rendering of this action of 1808 as we have recited.* Unless there is a copy of the records of the General Conference of 1808 other and different from the one we have here considered, the third restrictive rule was never adopted, in manner or form, as the others were. If Lee's and Burke's motion inhibiting "the next General Conference" from infracting the episcopacy and general superintendency was deemed or intended by them adequate to preserve the superintendency and episcopacy unimpaired, and if that view was probably held by enough others to pass the motion, would not that state of facts render the motion binding also upon succeeding General Conferences?

It has been erroneously claimed that during the action in the General Conference of 1808 upon the proposed delegated General Conference six of the representatives from the New England Conference and two from the Western Conference became dissatisfied with the proposed restrictive rules, especially the third, and withdrew from the Conference to return to their homes. Yet the bone of contention, according to Dr. Elliott,† was not the restrictive rules at all, but was the provision reported by the committee on the General Conference in favor of representation by seniority and not by electing delegates.

To conclude, we can see no evidence of attempted tampering with the Journal of 1808, nor with the Discipline relating to the restrictions. The printed Journals bear *prima facie* evidence of entire fidelity and accuracy. At the same time, while giving full credit to the documents reviewed, we maintain the equal validity of the third restrictive rule with the other five restrictions, for the following reasons: (1) From the unchallenged recognition of the third restrictive rule in the practice and administration of the Discipline for the last eighty-eight years, since it was reported from the Committee of Fourteen,

* Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. ii, pp. 229-233.
† Elliott, *Life of the Rev. Robert R. Roberts*, pp. 158, 159.

and since it was discussed and in a certain form adopted. (2) Ever since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784 the third restrictive rule has been the fundamental law of the Church, unwritten from 1784 to 1808, and from that time the written law of the Church.

But if, in the judgment of a respectable minority of the ministers and laymen of our Church, the theory of this paper as to the full validity of the third restrictive rule, or any other theory put forth and held, is deemed inconclusive, the General Conference of 1896 can safely and wisely submit the third restrictive rule for adoption, or readoption, by the ministry and laity of our Church. The constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the General Conference, already submitted to the next General Conference through the Church papers by Bishop Merrill and T. B. Neely, would, if submitted by the General Conference in an overture to the laity and ministry of the Church, be adopted by an overwhelming majority.

The great body of our Church, ministers and laymen, trust and venerate our bishops. They believe in the plan of our itinerant general superintendency and in our episcopacy. They will not allow our episcopacy to be shorn of any of its vested powers. They do not want, nor will they accept, a districted or diocesan episcopacy, unless as a counterpoise and safeguard in such an arrangement, the presiding elders are elective and coordinate with the bishops in stationing the preachers. We are, and we prefer and intend to remain, an episcopal copal Church. Practically we have been such for a hundred and thirty years. For all that period we have had an itinerant general superintendency. We believe our system has been demonstrated as the best form of Church polity. Beyond all precedent we have prospered, outstripping all other Churches and even the increase of our general population. We warn all profane, intermeddling iconoclasts, who would sap and subvert our Church foundations, to beware! Hands off! "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm."

Thomas A. Fearne

Art. XI.—PHASES OF FAITH.

THE VISIBLE.

Faith accepts the testimony of the senses to the reality of the material world, and is inspired to worship. It holds no theory as to "processes," but believes that monad and man, plant and planet, were born of a "spirit," and not evolved from the universal "space." Reverentially agnostic, it sees nature and says, "God"—not because, according to theosophy, the all is God, but because nature suggests God, as the Sistine Madonna suggests Raphael. Reverentially agnostic, it admits the inherent limitations of intellect, and is not egotistically defiant of that revelation which supplements thought. Seeking to understand, it masters all true sciences—chemistry, biology, astronomy, geology, and mathematics—and regards them as bibles or records of divine teachings. And having cultivated chastity of the eyes it sees the glory of Jehovah in the heavens and the earth. This vision of the visible being undistorted by error of head or heart, faith sees the cosmos as from the standpoint of God himself.

Such a spirit delivers from a cynical and sinful contempt of the world on the one hand and a sensuous submergence in its physical delights on the other. The flower that blooms in the garden, the fire that flames on the hearth, the stream that flows from the heart of the rock (without touch of a Moses's rod), the river that furrows its course through the hills, the mountains that tower in majesty above man's tiny home—these and the great realm of which they are types front the soul and awe it, if there be faith, into that spirit and act of prayer which by a glorious ministration of the Holy Ghost puts the adoring heart in accord with the heart which beats at the center of the visible world; into union with the everlasting life of the Creator, whose fiat began those motions that we now discern to be the indices of his presence. "By faith we understand that the worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear."

THE INVISIBLE.

The invisible is not the unseeable; it is apparent to the pure heart, its essence being divine. Yet there is an evil invisible

from which faith shrinks or which it antagonizes, so identifying itself with God in his antipathy to the maleficent agencies of the spiritual realm. This attitude is the core of life's reality, normal and eternal. Evasion of it, is the death of spirit, animalism dominating men and they becoming as "brute beasts," "without understanding" of the inherent distinctions between the "ought" and the "ought not." That sense which is called "conscience" takes cognizance of the unseen realities of purity, peace, truth, justice, benevolence, loyalty, and righteousness—these, and not merely "persons," constituting the invisible world. Faith not only sees these, but rejoices in their beauty, and lives in them, for them, and by them. Unfaith discounts these, sneers at their dignity, spurns them. Hence, in practical life, men are divided into those who subordinate the invisible to that which is expedient and those who, like Moses, endure "as seeing Him who is invisible," judging themselves by him and conforming themselves in the conduct of life to his image.

And so, in the invisible world is a Person—and persons. We will not say what knowledge of the "persons" is possible to us who remain in the body, but surely there is a "communion of saints." All holy souls are "one family," and maintain inviolate unity despite death. To preserve this fellowship it is not essential that there be gatherings in graveyards, or *séances*, or materializations, or rappings and table-tippings—but only rapt, ecstatic prayer to the Saint of saints, the Holiest of the holy. To see him is to see and to realize the invisible world; and to realize the invisible is to complete the sphere of life, to balance the hemisphere of sense life by that of the ideal spirit life.

THE ACTUAL.

In some of its aspects the actual is mysterious, repellent, and disillusioning. To taste, see, touch, and know it is to lose faith in the wisdom and benevolence of that some one or somewhat named "God." Nature, in the merciless operation of its laws, in the pitiless play of its power, in lightning stroke, excess of heat or cold, cyclone, earthquake, flood; man, in the animal phases of his external life and the groveling deeds of his false loves—these are tests of trust. Faith is not unaware

of the mystery, and not unconscious of the repelling elements, of existence; but, seeing God as goodness, it assumes that the so-called "dark things" of the universe have their spiritual uses, and that the spirit attains a complete culture only by a right interpretation of the actual, in whatever form it be known. If there be a death's-head everywhere faith sees beyond and above it a true and eternal life—so taking cognizance of both facts, mortality of body and vitality of spirit. Though it rain to-day there was sunshine yesterday, and there may be sunshine to-morrow. In the meantime the rain is from heaven, and, though there be immediate loss of the harvest, one may rejoice in the assurance that in the conduct of life patience of soul is greater than plenty in the garner or the bank.

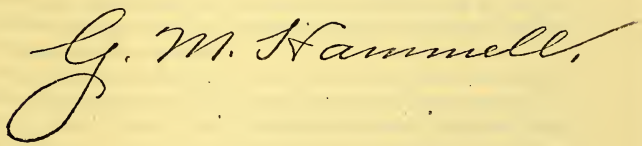
Perhaps, however, the greatest test of faith is disappointment in great men. They confuse us by their failure in mental or moral apprehension. We had hoped so much and expected so much—shall we despair? Shall we be stoically indifferent? Shall we lapse into supercilious cynicism? Either attitude is false to faith. Granted that the actual in humanity so often jars upon us, one need not count the days until he shall be relieved from the need of associating with inferior and false men. Jefferson, in the presidency—the goal of his ambition—impatiently waiting the day until he should retire to Monticello, was not the man of consummate character; but rather Washington, who, cognizant of human limitations, was determined to do the best things with available men and means.

THE IDEAL.

Faith conceives the ideal not merely as an unattainable perfection, but as the morally achievable character, Jesus himself imparting his own impulses to the receptive spirit. For he it was who, having said, "I do always those things that please him [the Father]," also said, "I in them, and thou in me," so declaring the possibilities of the spiritual life. In him is consummated all moral excellence, is concentrated and focalized all spiritual victory, is incarnated the peace of an unsullied, unfailiable heart purity. In a word, in him is the moral ideal. As such faith knows him. Skepticism, it is true, ignores him, and cherishes other ideals, which are no ideals, as the gods of

the nations were no gods, though worshiped and appealed to in the crises of existence. Unbelief neither heeds the rebuke of Jesus's supreme clarity of conduct nor feels the stirring of his inspiration to new effort after the better and the best. This is the merit and the marvel of Jesus's character and ethical teachings; they smite to the dust and burn to the core of the conscience, but they inspire to an exaltedness of hope that finds expression in a song after tears. Peter, weeping bitterly in the dark, becomes the enhaloed bearer of the keys—not alone, but typically, representatively. Augustine, with humiliating cry, "O that I had never been such!" was transformed into the saint.

If Jesus were a man we should say that he possessed a peculiar genius or aptitude for creating unrest and aspiration, for projecting into the heart a renewing desire for holiness. This, to use Peter's words descriptive of the unique quality of the primitive Christian, as contrasted with the Roman, is the "mystic attractiveness" of Jesus. Publicans and sinners, drawing near to hear him, were condemned by his searching analysis, but were quickened by his penetrating appeals to love and hope. The instincts of the spirit are corrected, and the impulses of the soul, by the impact of the Holy Spirit, are rectified. Believing thus, notwithstanding sin, in the reality of the ideal, the Christian environs himself, in the actual, with a new atmosphere; and, needing no solitude in which to front himself with the ideal, contemplates it in the commonplaces of his daily life.



EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

The sudden death, on last February 10th, of Rev. Sandford Hunt, D.D., Senior Agent of the New York Book Concern, removed from Methodism one of its most capable, faithful, and useful officers. Thirty successful years in the pastorate and presiding eldership were crowned by seventeen years in the Book Agency; in which office he was associated first with John M. Phillips, and then with Dr. Homer Eaton. A suitable biographical article, by a competent hand, will appear in the *Review*.

Both sound religion and strong preaching are thoughtful. This may be so because all the great subjects belong to religion, and must be so because every such subject requires silence and seclusion for its due consideration. The soul must closet itself. Reflection undisturbed and tranquil, meditation deep, long, and prayerful, shutting the man up alone hour after hour, perhaps day after day, with his great theme and the great God, are frequently necessary to the largest and best results. The most important problems, projects, and decisions require retirement for their mastering and maturing.

Carlyle tells of a rugged man who, when difficulties accumulate on him so that he is perplexed, retires silent, generally to his bed; retires thus sometimes "for three days together, that he may be in perfect privacy there and ascertain in his rough head how the difficulties can be overcome."

John Calvin went to bed with his books and papers and stayed there indefinitely when he had some great intellectual work to do, securing thus a restful and inviolable quietness, protected from the intrusions of others and from the natural uneasiness of his own propensities to restlessness.

Rufus Choate, when the day was at hand for his great argument in some important case, went to bed with his subject, locking his chamber door for the twelve or twenty-four hours just preceding his speech, and when the time came went as directly as possible from his bed to the court and made his address. Having

soaked the subject into all the convolutions of his brain and all the tissues of his moral being, he was like a Leyden jar charged with all it could hold. The effect was electric and irresistible upon everybody who had any nerves. James Russell Lowell once wrote to a friend: "I am so occupied and bothered that I have no time to brood, which with me is as necessary a preliminary to hatching anything as with a clucking hen." President Thomas Hill, of Harvard College, said: "Intellectually man is ruminant. He gets little permanent benefit from literary browsing unless he afterward chews the cud." Henry Ward Beecher had preeminently the power to submerge himself out of sight in his subject till mind, conscience, heart, and sensibilities were saturated with it. His hours of tremendous utterance were preceded by abysmal brooding, as intolerant of intrusive approach as if it were morose; out of which he rose to his pulpit quivering, surcharged, and incandescent, with results which were seismic, inundational, volcanic, and conflagrational.

That America should be without universities would be discreditable to our civilization and crippling to our progress. It is necessary, however, that the proper proportion between superstructure and foundation be preserved and that in our ambition for universities we do not lose sight of the precedent importance of colleges and seminaries.

The theory that the requirements for admission to the best American colleges should be increased—say to six years' study of Latin and four years' of Greek—has some foundation in experience and reason, or it would not be propounded and advocated. But the foundation for it—a desire for conformity to a German system—is hardly adequate in our conditions. The history of American education contains some unpleasant reading. About 1850 there were many seminaries and academies and but few colleges. In 1880 we had reversed the order of the numbers and had few academies but many colleges, and, in addition, some infant universities. Now the tendency runs toward another great change—toward a decrease of colleges and an increase of universities. If this tendency persists we may find ourselves in 1950 with many half-grown universities and but few colleges. Upon the usefulness of these tendencies we may get light by remembering as we look at them that we have not been at all happy over the first great change. We are compelled to regret the decrease in academies; we feel the need of replacing those we have lost, and are actually inquir-

ing how we may build up more strong and efficient schools of that grade. The race we ran from academy to college organizations brought us to a goal we had not desired; and in not a few cases the college found itself obliged to equip and maintain its own academy. We are by no means satisfied over the results arising from the reduction in the number and efficiency of academies. Now, the increase of about fifty per cent in the requirements for admission to college means that the college is to be a university for whose courses students are to be prepared in academies which do not exist in such numbers and excellence as to do a tenth part of this work. And the net result, if we could succeed, would be to remove the college and bring back the academy. By and by we would discover that after all we needed colleges, and by march and countermarch we would get back to the point of departure.

The three grades have with us a distinct right, sphere, and function. Academy, college, and university are alike historical and rational. We are not likely to outgrow either. If the real reason for raising the grade of college study is that we desire to raise the value of college degrees, the fitting theory is that these degrees should be conferred only by universities after a period of postcollege study. But we are not prepared for the premise. The requirements for the A. B. degree in the best American colleges are large enough.

The restlessness of men engaged in the work of education manifests itself too little in perfecting their existing methods and too much in efforts to make organic and far-reaching changes. Meanwhile there is little or no improvement in the matter of thoroughness in primary education. University method invades the high school. Zealous labor to make naturalists and chemists out of pupils who can neither compose in good English nor even spell correctly seems to be labor expended in the wrong place. Some time or other we will wake up to the importance of the foundation, and plan to begin all education by making it solid and thorough at the bottom. For the time being a fever for universities and university methods seems to be raging, as forty years ago the craze for unduly multiplying colleges prevailed. That fever cost us many promising seminaries and academies, the loss of which has been painfully felt. If the university fever runs on unchecked there is danger that it may impair the lower instrumentalities of education, so that our educational system will become top-heavy, inadequate, and feeble in its preparatory and intermediate stages.

AN ELECTIVE JUDICIARY.

American political institutions are an outgrowth from British, and in their home land and on American soil they have given the highest measure of well-being known in human history. The spirit which has controlled in the development of those methods of government has been a practical, not a theoretical, one. If from time to time the reform cries have taken the form of axioms, yet the axioms have been interpreted and applied with practical caution and sagacity. It is not a new thing that the American reformer is somewhat more given than his English brothers to axiomatic formulas. Within limits this method is somewhat wholesome; but no general maxim can be safely applied without the aid of experience and practical wisdom. A real reformer does not burn down the house to improve some corner of it. Even a French revolution does not thoroughly reconstruct society; and after a hundred years French radicals are still struggling vainly to realize in life the axioms of their eighteenth century reformers. Human society cannot be changed except by growth, development, progressive evolution. One proposed reform is obnoxious to the charge that it would radically and suddenly change the most conservative branch of public administration. We refer to the demand that national courts shall be created by popular election. The alleged reason for this radical departure is that judges are now partial, and are such in the interest of the wealthy and against the poor. This contention is not supported by a single clearly marked trespass upon personal rights. Complaint was made when the courts interfered to protect property against mobs in Chicago and elsewhere; but the courts in those cases only performed a most pressing and legitimate duty. If judges created by popular election are expected to refrain from enjoining and punishing people who destroy the property of others, then no sane person desires such judges. And, since this particular demand for "reform" is likely to be pressed upon the less wise citizens by the least judicious popular leaders, it is well to keep before us the real objects of the change. Those objects are to make property and life less secure and to empower mobs to control the courts before which lawbreakers may be brought to trial. The only part of our judicial system which is convicted of weakness is the popular part—the jury. We do not share the belief that the jury is a failure; but it is too often unsatisfactory. And yet this partial failure can be remedied by more

careful methods in making up the juries. The bench has been, with a few exceptional cases, singularly strong and clean. It has not happened for a long time that a federal judge has been proved corrupt; and the charges of partiality are made, for the most part, by persons charged with grave offenses against the laws. Our sound historical theory is that courts must be kept independent of either executive or popular control. We have found that system safe in practice; and no foreign observer has failed to comment approvingly upon the confidence of Americans in their highly independent judiciary. The practical sense of our people has approved the system established by our fathers; and a demand for courts created by and dependent upon town meeting ought to arouse the indignation of good citizens. That our judges should be created by the people is sound doctrine. They are, in fact, so created. It is a very different thing to say that they ought to be named in mass meetings. The mass meeting is apt to be controlled by a very few persons, and those who wish all our interests confided to the chances of popular elections are frank enough to inform us of their purpose to control such elections.

"CHRISTIAN" RATIONALISM.

Its principal headquarters and depot of supplies is Germany. Its most eminent exponent and ablest advocate, a disciple of Baur, fills and overflows the chair of theology in the University of Berlin, whence a philosophy of religion, licensed and limited by the lowest theories of modern science and armed with the weapons of a destructive biblical criticism, sets out to dissolve the Bible and slay the supernatural.

It is asserted on respectable authority that the Established Church in Germany permits its fundamental doctrines to be denounced and destroyed by the very men appointed to teach and defend them; that its membership includes many scoffers, determined and outspoken enemies of the Lord Jesus; that from the world outside rank socialists, faithless scientists, and the secular press applaud these Church rationalists, raising an uproar about "freedom of thought" and "liberty of conscience" if anybody proposes to bring to book even the most violent and virulent inside assailants of the faith; and that those who desire to retain any faith in Christ are forced to withdraw to independent congregations, like those maintained in that country by our own Church. From a previous state of indecision and suspended opinion the conviction

grows upon us, as we listen, read, observe, and study, that there is as much justification for our Methodist missions in Germany, because of the prevalence of a frigid, glacial, and gelatinous pseudo-Christianity, as for our work in Mexico and South America, where another and different form of corrupt and spurious Christianity is dominant. Something to raise the temperature and melt the ice is sorely needed.

Heinrich Heine was a Hebrew, but so lightly and slightly religious as to be always ready to take on new faiths, simply wearing them on the outside as men do garments. In Paris, it is related, he became a Catholic, and at Berlin a Lutheran; of which last conversion he said that he "could easily accommodate himself to the very enlightened Christianity, filtered from all superstition, that could be had in the churches of Berlin; a Christianity which was free even from the divinity of Christ." What Heine found in the churches of Berlin in his day has not yet disappeared from the churches and schools of Germany. Dangerous influences still work for the disintegration of the Christian faith. The Wellhausen-Reuss school seeks to destroy confidence in the divine inspiration and historical trustworthiness of the Holy Scriptures. Weizsäcker's young theologues go out from Tübingen to drop the creed out of the liturgy and put doubt and disrespect on the established faith of the Church. Marburg, Jena, and Heidelberg diffuse darkness rather than light. Cornill at Königsberg issues his destructive Old Testament introduction. Grafe undermines the Lord's Supper as a sacred and obligatory ordinance, and Meinhold resolves the patriarchs and their history into myths. These are sufficient samples of the destructive class, and represent a large body of sympathizers in the schools and in the churches.

General and indiscriminate censure of German universities would be both ignorant and unjust. Orthodox conservatism has more than held its own, for learning and ability, in many theological faculties, notably at Erlangen, Leipsic, Königsberg, Greifswald, and Rostock; the last named having such defenders of the faith as Diekhoff, König, and Nösgen. Even at Berlin, where such "advanced thinkers" as Kaftan, Harnack, and Pfleiderer are most conspicuous, positive theology has representatives in Slatter, and Strack, and Baetgen. At Kiel Klosterman makes powerful critical reply to the followers of Wellhausen, and Bredenkamp ably defends the Old Testament from its assailants. Zahn at Erlangen is more than a match for the liberalism of Harnack in the history of early Christianity. Some strong men who, in agreement with

Augustine and Luther, have not held to the absolute inerrancy of the Scriptures have yet, and, as they think, the more successfully, maintained the inspired authority of the Bible and the validity of the accepted creed. Some eminent biblicists who concede something of probability to the literary critics on the Documentary Theory, the exilic origin of Isaiah, and the Maccabean origin of Daniel, nevertheless give strenuous battle against ruinous reconstructions of the Bible and the naturalizing of religion. The mediating school of theology, including such men as Tholuck, Dorner, B. Weiss, Köstlin, Beyschlag, Köhler, and Kautzsch, has done something to trim the conclusions and moderate the influence of the radical theologians, although its effort to unite opposing extremes of thought by its proposed compromises has doubtful prospect of success. Those extremes are unlikely to consent to meet and dwell together in a half-way house.

A most encouraging sign of the times is an indignant uprising of evangelical pastors and of devout and spiritually-minded members in the churches, in loud protest against the influences proceeding from the universities and the discrediting of the creed and undermining of the foundations of religion by young pastors graduating therefrom. A great conservative revival is spreading. The conservatives, under the lead of such pastors as Stöcker and von Bodelschwingh have determined to have a faculty under their own direction at Herford, in Westphalia ; and the pressure of public sentiment is so strong that the Prussian government has been compelled to modify its policy by filling vacant theological chairs with positively evangelical scholars, so that several strongly conservative professors have recently been placed in ultra-liberal universities.

Nevertheless, what masquerades as "Christian" rationalism is still rampant and widely prevalent in Germany, and, without denying the world's debt to German learning and scholarship in many departments, prudence requires us to warn ourselves and each other against the insidious errors of certain well-known teachers, who, in their presuppositions and attitude, if not in set purpose, are hostile to evangelical religion. Some poisonous streams of philosophy and theology flow from Germany.

It is too clear to be denied that students at some of the German universities are in peril. A graduate of a prominent Presbyterian theological seminary in America went abroad to complete his preparations for the ministry. In Pfleiderer's lecture room in Berlin all his evangelical foundations were cut from under him, leaving

him very soon without faith in anything. He came home an utter skeptic, a pessimistic agnostic, and is to-day a bitter blasphemer against the religion to which he once in the morning of his manhood, when the daystar was shining in his heart, dedicated with holy ardor his soul and life. The atmosphere of such lecture rooms is unfavorable to Christian faith; the walls echo and applaud the incessant negation of long-treasured and fundamental doctrines; the reasoning starts from assumptions adverse to all that the Church has believed; it proceeds on the theory that the Christian Scriptures and traditions are untrustworthy; and the total effect is demolition, not a mere taking down preparatory to a better rebuilding, as is claimed, but distinctly and definitively fatal, absolutely deadly.

It is also too clear to be denied that the torrent of German literature which flows abroad to all the earth contains germs which may be fatal to the life of faith. The future of religion in Japan is said to be imperiled by the antisupernatural rationalism coming from Germany and accepted with the characteristic undiscriminating Japanese eagerness for change and novelty. A professor in the Imperial University of Japan finds it easy to dress up the essence of Buddhist pantheism in the garb of German rationalistic philosophy, trying to pass it off as a form of Christianity. The current literary output of Germany is reported to equal that of England, France, and America together; a large proportion of it bears directly or indirectly upon questions of religion and theology; the mere quantity of it makes a flood of such volume as to sweep before it whatever is not rock-founded and whoever is not firmly anchored.

It is furthermore too clear to be denied that German rationalism is assisted to assault the faith of Christendom when its ablest professors are invited to deliver in Christian universities courses of lectures like those of Pfleiderer in Scotland. Such a policy on the part of such institutions is one of immense unwisdom, and, in the case of the University of Edinburgh, of flagrant impropriety. We reiterate with increased positiveness the conviction previously expressed upon these editorial pages: "Probability warrants the presumption that such a use of the Gifford lectureship as the Berlin theologian made is in violation of the intention of the founder, an unlawful misuse and immoral perversion of the fund; for there is little room to doubt that Lord Gifford's purpose was friendly to Christianity." It has been stated in apology for the senatus which invited him that not only does the language

of the bequest put no obstacle in the way of such lectures as Pfleiderer's, but also nothing is known concerning Lord Gifford's personal belief that makes it certain he would disapprove. In fact, the opinion has been expressed by some that he was to life's end in secret sympathy with the destructive views of the German lecturer. But positive disproof of this seems to be furnished from a competent and authoritative source. Lady Dufferin, yielding to an importunate suit which Lord Gifford had pressed for twenty years, consented to be married to him when he lay on his deathbed and after his physicians had announced that recovery was impossible. The ceremony was performed in his bedroom on October 13, 1862, and immediately thereafter they received together the holy sacrament. This is told us by her son, Lord Dufferin, in his memoir of his mother, and he adds: "Lord Gifford's taking the sacrament was a great satisfaction to her, for in earlier days he leant rather to what is now called agnosticism; but eventually under the influence of my mother's gentle teaching his doubts and difficulties disappeared, and on the 22d of December, 1862, holding the hand of her to whom he had clung for sympathy, comfort, and support from boyhood, and in the peace of God, he passed painlessly away." Everything in the later years of Lord Gifford's life goes to show that his faith became positively Christian, and that nothing could have induced him to provide in his last will and testament for anything hostile to orthodox evangelical Christianity; and materials are not lacking for an indictment against the university senatus for maladministration of the lectureship. It is clear on the one side that Gifford's purpose was thoroughly Christian, and on the other that the school of thought of which Pfleiderer is the most accomplished spokesman is thoroughly unfriendly to real Christianity, the fascinating philosopher from Berlin being more injurious and destructive than that fanatical radical who is said to have had a picture of the Christ tattooed on the sole of his foot so that he might at every step tread on the object of his hatred.

It must be admitted that Otto Pfleiderer is a gifted and highly trained intellectual architect, building his thinking up symmetrically and framing it well together; so that if the assumptions and presumptions which he uses as premises were true most of his conclusions would be also. It may be admitted that he is a philosopher and has constructed a system. Whether that system is nearer to deism or to pantheism we are neither called upon nor concerned to decide; but it is necessary to insist that it is not

Christianity. Despite its claiming shelter under the Christian name, his doctrine at bottom is sheer rationalism; and rationalism at bottom is naturalism; and naturalism at bottom, so far as we know, is materialism; and materialism at bottom is atheism; and the end of all is degradation for the life, blank despair for the mind, and eternal death for the soul of man. It is the moderate drinker whose influence is most pernicious, though his example seems most innocent, and it is the moderate rationalist—"Christian" he calls himself—whose inculcations are most dangerous. Professedly to lead us to God by a new way, he takes us by the hand, but in fact passes us on to conclusions which leave us where, at most, all we can see is the uncertain shadow of a distant, dim, and doubtful deity who somewhere sometime saw fit for unimaginable reasons to give a germinal origin to a living universe the purport of which is inscrutable, and who has never since touched or visited it, never shown himself or spoken; a God who or which, in Kant's phrase, "cannot interest us," and gives no sign of being interested in us. These absurdly self-named "Christian" rationalists really pitch us forward down the incline toward universal nihilism. Their doctrine is theological tobogganing, down-grade from beginning to end, and so difficult is it to find a stopping place midway that when one starts in at the top of their slide, yielding himself to their control, the merely logical probabilities predict that his mangled remains may sooner or later be looked for at the bottom.

THE RIPENING EXPERIENCE OF LIFE.

A SCIENTIST whose honorable eminence in the scientific world is unquestioned, Professor George John Romanes, yielding his mind entirely to the scientific method, came to disbelieve in free will, in the presence of mind in nature, and in 1878 argued in his essay, "A Candid Examination of Theism," that the phenomena of the universe needed no God to account for them. But before his death he became convinced that it was reasonable to be a Christian believer, and that he had made a great mistake in not believing in Christianity. He made distinct and devout profession of his acceptance of the Christian religion, and returned deliberately to full and blissful communion with the Church of Jesus Christ. He came to perceive the enormous implications of the moral nature and to trust the intuitions of the soul. Two days before his death, in 1894, he heartily com-

mended Professor Knight's *Aspects of Theism*, which emphasizes the force of the argument from intuition, and dying he left behind him writings which argue that while the scientific reason cannot clearly perceive the realities known to religion, yet there is a spiritual necessity for faith, and our intuitions are legitimate, significant, and trustworthy; that where anything else than causation is under consideration the "appropriate organs for the ascertainment of truth are those which belong to the moral and spiritual nature," and that there is positive strength and indestructible value in the historical and spiritual evidences of Christianity. Romanes's explanation of this great reversal of opinion and resuscitation of faith suggests the theme and furnishes the title of this essay: "It does not appear to me that the modifications which my views have undergone are due so much to purely logical processes of the intellect as to the subconscious, and therefore more or less unanalyzable, influences due to the ripening experience of life."

Experience is disciplinary and educational; it makes us acquainted with the laws and facts of existence. "Contact with reality will take care of skepticism in the long run," remarks a wise philosopher. Rash radicalisms and insubordination to the constitution of things run away with us in youth. Our inexperience adopts crude theories that will not work. Then we are cuffed and tripped up and kicked about by facts because our awkward notions get crosswise of the procession of things. Moments of reflection flash on us a suspicion that our crotchet does not dovetail and adjust into the universal frame. We feel a slowly increasing respect for the solidity of the stable universe, which was here before our cradle was rocked, and which has not seen fit to retire its realities or reconstruct its plan out of deference to our infantile misconceptions. In time even the red-hottest anarchist perceives that his proposition to abolish everything is impracticable; everything holds the fort and cannot be dislodged. Successive epiphanies and revelations push us on from probability to positiveness that certain great mysterious objects which sit in shadow are not banks of mist, but mountain ranges whose primeval majesty looked down upon our birth and will cast its silent shadows across our low little graves. We come to doubt our doubts. We overhear a Frenchman saying, "There is somebody that knows more than Voltaire—*Tout le Monde!*" and we begin to pay attention to those generally accepted statements which represent the net result of the long investigation

and experience of the race. Gradually the heavens and the earth, our own souls, and our fellow-men explain to us the incorrectness of our ideas. The pert omniscience of our youth takes on the aspect of folly. As years pass a conservative tendency sets in along the channels of the mind. The newcomer who has been here only sixty years or so reflects that perhaps he is o'er young and recent to insist upon upsetting the conclusions of the ages, and not quite numerous enough to outvote the many-millioned masses of mankind. He is less wise in his own esteem, wiser in the estimation of his fellow-men. Experience is a driver with a long whip for rounding up the thoughts of men within the confines of certain conclusions.

In human experience as a total there is a providential presence and a moral push. Only an atheist will deny that the proper work of all man's higher faculties is to bring him into right relations with God. The universe is reasonable, and human rationality delivered from perversions must lead toward recognition of and harmony with the Eternal Reason. The thought-power holds a secret purpose to fetch all honest thinking round to the Great Thinker. Even logic leads thither, not all the way, but in that direction, if it starts from true premises. Much more a moral view of anything must include belief in God; the ethical cord swings us to the theistic point of view.

God hides himself so wondrously that it is possible to start away from him, but it is not easy for any sane and half-honest human being to keep on going away from him. The mind may travel afar, and, coming to a halt in the distance, stay there inactive forever; we own the possibility. But the erring mind which keeps moving, investigating, considering, is likely to find itself turning back from farthest and darkest distance toward faith in the supernatural, in theistic conceptions, and in spiritual interpretations. Something in the shape of the system of things contributes to this result; one almost suspects that the world of thought is globular, like the planet we live on; so that very far east is west. The man who should sail east from the port of New York, to leave America as far behind as possible, would, if he traveled beyond twelve thousand miles, be heading for San Francisco and the continent he had fled. The limitations fixed around the human mind seem like a circumference, striking against which thought is reflected back along a centripetal line. At any rate, the stress of the universe and its constructive intention work to return the wanderer Godward. Man is tethered by

some native relationship to God. Within limits, the farther that tether is stretched the harder it pulls, just as the transgressor's way becomes harder the farther he pursues it. When one casts from his hand the ball which is tied by an elastic cord to his wrist, it is the strain on the elastic which brings the ball back to the welcome of his open palm; though this is not saying that no strain can break the cord. We are born and bottomed in God; from him we come; his children we are rather than the ape's or the devil's; "in him we live, and move, and have our being." Denial of him is like denial of the air, without which we could not deny—which makes enunciation, sound, and breath possible. It is like the fish's denial of the sea, or the bird's doubt of the atmosphere; one swims in it and says, "Where is it?"—the other flies in it and says, "I perceive it not!"

The farther a man goes with doubt, denial, disobedience, so long as mind and soul remain alive, the more difficult his way becomes. Remonstrances rise out of the ground. Reproofs sting him in the face. A displeased sky mutters overhead. He loses solid footing, his steps sink in "Tremble Meadow," he mires. The system of things out-argues him and puts him to confusion. It prods him with questions he cannot answer. The universe tells him he is a fool. When the wayward, irreligious soul has run itself out of breath in God-avoiding flight and stands panting, exhausted, and empty at the end of its lane, having overtaken no good and unable to go farther, it is liable there in its forlorn and hollow misery to be seized with a suspicion of the nearness of Some One who is not far from any one of us, and to find itself face to face with the Presence it so madly fled. When the disputatious denier has talked himself out and has nothing more to say, when the echoes of his futile theories and voluble but irrational, because inadequate, explanations have died away, there ensues a silence in which he is likely to hear around and above him, like the tread of thunder along eternal hills, the footfalls of the mighty truths he has denied. When the misguided man has followed fen-fires into the pitch-dark heart of a Serbonian bog, there is a divine Soul-Seeker who swings a lantern through the dark and calls, "Follow me, and I will give you rest on the solid ground of righteousness and reason."

Not untrue is Francis Thompson's confession-picture of the experience of a soul trying to flee from the pursuing Christ:

> I fled Him down the nights and down the days;
> I fled him down the arches of the years;

I fled him down the labyrinthine ways
Of my own mind; and in the mist of tears
I hid from him, and under running laughter.
Up vistaed hopes I sped;
And shot, precipitated
Adown Titanic glooms of chasmed fears,
From those strong Feet that followed, followed after.
But with unhurrying chase,
And unperturbèd pace,
Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
They beat—and a Voice beat
More instant than the Feet—
"All things betray thee who betrayest Me."

Abundant facts of many kinds show that the ripening experience of life, the maturing of the mind, and the progress of candid thought all tend to bring men to that Wisdom which the Book of Proverbs magnifies. For example, numerous instances confirm the truth of Lord Bacon's observation: "A little natural philosophy, and the first entrance into it, doth dispose the opinion to atheism; but much natural philosophy, and wading deep into it, will bring about men's minds to religion." Dr. Alfred Momerie contradicts this, and points in evidence to modern scientists, like Tyndall and Huxley, as having waded deep into natural philosophy without being brought about to religion. Nevertheless Bacon's maxim states the general truth. Under it are included several corroborating facts. One fact is that this class of skeptics have either superficial or one-sided learning. They are such, not by reason of superior knowledge, but by deficiency thereof, being ignorant of many things—indeed, of a whole range of facts remote from and opposite to the physical side of life. The broadening of their knowledge by multiplying their points of view will bring them in sight of some of those antipodal facts. If they knew more they would believe more. Another fact is that increase of intelligence, education, and knowledge is advantageous to, as well as promoted by, Christianity. Its motto is, "Let there be light." Religion is no fabrication of the imagination, but a knowledge of and regard for truth, and for that central and supreme Reality to which all truth relates. To knowledge enlarging beyond a segment toward the full circle, or in the segment going deeper, Christianity becomes continually more credible. But another fact is that natural scientists, failing to find evidence in proof of their antisupernatural theories, frequently confess failure and acknowledge the breakdown of materialistic explanations. The attempt to account for origins and evolutions on a purely natural basis has to be given

up. The insufficiency and irrationality of atheistic schemes are ascertained and published. The necessity of some other theory is admitted, and Christianity's explanation is left in possession of the field, supported equally by reason and by faith.

Eminent scientists, cultivating sedulously the questioning habit of mind and failing to find physical proof of spiritual things, attract attention by the utterance of daring doubts and strident denials. But, continuing their investigations and affirmations in that spirit, they often move on into a gradual distrust of their overconfident negations. Wider study and maturer reflection upon the marvelous and mysterious facts of life diminish the positiveness of their dogmatic denials, until not infrequently in later life they write some sentence which essentially concedes Religion's whole claim. Some new point of view is reached or some overlooked consideration brings its force to bear upon the mind, so that some truth stands clearly out which is nothing less than one of the salients of Christianity; and in giving recognition to that truth they logically surrender the whole case. Over the wall to the besiegers they throw the key of their castle gate.

Instances of an opposite character, apparently contradicting Bacon and supporting Momerie, are not denied. Darwin late in life said that those faculties on which the higher tastes depend had been gradually atrophied in him, "to the injury of the intellect and yet more of the moral character." He was entirely engrossed in physical science, as Edward A. Freeman was in the study and writing of history; so to both of them religious verities faded out of recognition, and degeneration into agnosticism ensued, until the former came near to being the typical agnostic pattern. It is not forgotten that Schopenhauer, the luxurious pessimist, knowing no better god, died with the gilded statue of Gotama Buddha looking at him from the mantelpiece. That disuse may destroy spiritual faculty, evil habits grow fixed, and disbelief unbroken become final and fatal, are awful and admonitory facts.

Yet the system of things, the voices of man's own nature, the true progress of thought, and the powerful pressure of the Holy Spirit are against such results. Romanes wrote with Bacon and against Momerie in these words: "If a little knowledge of physiology and psychology dispose men to atheism, a deeper knowledge of both, and still more a deeper thought upon their relations to one another, will lead men back to some form of religion." Did not Darwin at last concede that his doctrine of evolution was not

verifiable, and did he not modify its statement by the hypothesis of a controlling Power? Did not John Tyndall observe that the human mind, by natural instinct, turns, with the yearning of a pilgrim for his distant home, to the mystery from which it has emerged, earnestly seeking so to fashion it as to give unity to thought and faith? And when the mind so turns to study the primal and infinite Mystery is there any way toward the desired unity of a satisfying conception except by listening to the lips which said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life;" "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father?" In Mr. Huxley's *Apologetic Irenicon* are signs that at threescore and ten the ripening experience of life has taken sobering and salutary effect on him. When Frederic Harrison flings at him the solemn questions, "What is the relation of man to the Author of the world? Is there or is there not a moral providence? Have I an immortal soul, and what becomes of it when I die?"—and insists that Mr. Huxley is bound to make some answer to these agonizing questions of the human race, Huxley says that he fully accepts a general providence which is the cause of the rational order of the universe, and with this Cause he believes man has to do. Of his own life this old man adds, "I have done my day's work, not always with a light heart, but with a sense of responsibility and a terror of that which may appear when the thick web of fiction is stripped off." Now can such a "sense of responsibility" be felt toward protoplasm or a godless universe of matter, or only toward "the Judge of all the earth?" In a manner essentially religious Mr. Huxley goes on: "I am a very strong believer in the punishment of certain kinds of actions, not only in the present but in all the future a man can have, be it long or short." "I suppose that all men with a clear sense of right and wrong have now and then descended into hell and stopped there long enough to know what infinite punishment is." "If a genuine immortality awaits us, such immortality, without some change like that depicted in the thirteenth chapter of Corinthians, must be in eternal misery." After such utterances as these Mr. Huxley expresses his scorn for the "liberalism" which makes light of serious spiritual issues, which increases the weakness of the world and "covers up the awful realities which it shudders to look at." In all this we find, it is true, no positive profession of faith, but surely it sounds inconsistent with the "gross and brutal materialism" charged upon his *Lay Sermons* twenty-five years earlier; inconsistent also with professed agnosticism. Rather does this man

of science, bending under life's long experience, seem to be bowing his soul in the very presence of those tremendous realities which are the theme of old-fashioned orthodox religion.

In comparative theology it is as Bacon asserted it to be in natural philosophy—at last, if not before, it turns Christward. Years ago, when Max Müller issued his *Origin of Religions*, he was inclined to think that all religions had begun in nature-worship and were natural evolutions therefrom, all being therefore on a par as to their genesis and foundation. But fuller study of the comparative merits of the natural ethnic religions and Christianity brought him to so clear a conviction of the superiority of our New Testament faith that he stood before the British Bible Society with this declaration: "The Vedas, the Hindoo Puranas, the Koran, the Parsi Zend-Avesta, and the Buddhist Tripitaka all say that salvation must be purchased, the purchase-money being our good works and deservings. Our Bible is from beginning to end a protest against this doctrine. Good works are indeed enjoined, but they are only the outcome of a grateful heart, the fruits of faith. They are never the ransom money of true disciples of Christ. Let us teach Hindoo, Buddhist, Mohammedan that there is only one Sacred Book of the East that can be their mainstay in that awful hour when they pass alone into the unseen world. It is the Sacred Book which contains that faithful saying worthy to be received of all: 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.'" Monier-Williams, at the beginning of his study of Hindoo religions, was strongly prejudiced in their favor. But later on he could not listen with patience to those who praised them. He openly and vigorously denounced the stupid ignorance and what he called the "jelly-fish toleration" which refuse to insist upon or acknowledge the decided superiority of Christianity. At an anniversary of the Church Missionary Society he said: "After you have studied all false religions, fearlessly proclaim the plain, unchangeable, eternal facts of the Gospel; nay, its stubborn, unyielding, inexorable facts. Let it be absolutely clear that Christianity cannot, must not, be watered down to suit the palate of Hindoo, Parsi, Confucian, Buddhist, Mohammedan. Whoso wishes to pass from the false to the true religion can never hope to do so by the rickety planks of compromise." And Romanes tells us that intellectually it was in large part the science of comparative religion coupled with the study of anthropology that turned him toward faith in Christ.

Not only in natural philosophy and comparative theology,

but in all the ways of thought, probability presses serious and maturing minds toward faith. Voltaire was brought by lengthening years to believe more and more firmly in an immortality with rewards and punishments, as Socrates in prison taught in the hour before the cup of hemlock was brought. Through Pascal's Paris life dissipation and skepticism went together. In later years, having turned from evil ways, he "faced the specters of the mind and laid them," and came to regard Christ, in his nature, teachings, and life, as the center of all knowledge, in whom was not only God reconciling the world unto himself, but the meeting point wherein all seemingly antithetical truths are reconcilable. Goethe began in revolt against Christianity, but after all his rebellious battling he wrote Jacobi: "It is altogether strange to me that I, an old heathen, should see the Cross planted in my own ground, and hear Christ's blood and wounds practically preached without its offending me. We owe this to the higher point of view to which philosophy has raised us." Carlyle, after many hesitations, megrims, and vagaries, "flung the might of his aged manhood against the 'gospel of dirt,' and came back to the catechism, learned at his mother's knee, for a true conception of the destiny of man, which is 'to glorify God and enjoy him forever.'" In like manner Edmund Yates said: "I seldom speak of religion, but I have thought a good deal about it, and what I am now trying to do is to live back to the faith of my childhood." The last friend to whom George Eliot wrote says that "at the time of her sudden and untimely death her mind was slowly reverting toward some measure of faith;" and are we not told that, nearing life's close, she kept Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* near her? Bourget, who in *Le Disciple* recommended the young to embrace the positive virtues of faith, hope, and charity, yet showed that he himself had never risen thereto, and who in *Cosmopolis* betrays the skepticism of a soul not at one with itself nor with God's world, is said to have undergone since then so great a change that he classes himself as a believer. Tolstoi, in *My Confession*, tells the story of his soul: "I have lived in this world fifty-five years; for nearly forty of those years I have been a Nihilist in the true sense of that word; not socialist and not revolutionary, according to the perverted meaning attached to it; but really Nihilist, that is, lacking in all faith, believing in nothing." "Early in life I lost my faith; I have lived like all other people among the various varieties of life. I have done something in literature, undertaking to teach

others things of which I knew nothing. Then the Sphinx began to persecute me, saying, as to Œdipus of old, 'Guess my riddle or I will devour thee.' Human science explained to me nothing. To my incessant questions, the only ones that concerned me, 'Why do I live? What am I?' science answered by teaching me a hundred other things which were of no consequence to me." At last he turned to Christ, and, making his own interpretations, settled upon a religion having such fundamental principles as these: "Regulate your life by the evangelical precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. Shun all violence. Resist not evil. Divide the proceeds of your labor with the poor. Reverence the family—have no divorce or libertinage." The ripening experience of life took thirty years to bring about this conversion from nothing to something, from Nihilism to the Sermon on the Mount.

A man to whom in the decline of life there came through the reading of a certain book the perception of a Beauty of Truth as well as a Beauty of Goodness higher than the senses says concerning that experience, in which his idea of God grew far nearer and immeasurably grander: "I was filled with a new reverence, mixed with a fear such as one experiences when beholding through the lens of a telescope a star seen shortly before with the naked eye, but now grown to an enormous size. The last rays of evening light were dying away in my study before I finished reading. I put down the book and sat down at a window which commands a view over the plains that stretch from the Alps to the sea. From the religious emotion of that hour, as I sat listening to the murmurings and whisperings of the night, which seemed to me like living voices full of religious meaning, I felt the duty of bearing witness to the divine light which I had received."

The influence of the ripening experience of life often mellows and softens man's nature. The passionate blood is cooled, the fiery temper tamed, the haughty spirit humbled. The return of a certain childlikeness is noticed in men toward the last, very touching to see and sometimes beautiful; in place of roughness gentleness, in place of self-sufficiency a willing dependence, in place of self-will pliableness and submissiveness. A strong man temporarily ill received from a friend this discerning sentence: "It is, indeed, a change for you to like being nursed, and perhaps not altogether a bad one from a character point of view." The renascence of docile dispositions might measurably

prepare a man to nestle like a trusting child in the bosom of the Father. The late upblooming of the pure and artless spirit of childhood from under the incrustations of inveterate worldliness is well set forth in a story about a courtier who, after truckling and crawling all his life for place and favor, sees at the end with a sick heart the worthlessness of all that tawdry tinsel, and gets back a child's joy in the simple but sweet and matchless beauties of God's own conferring. This is the poet's story:

> I helped a man to die, some few weeks since,
> Warped even from his go-cart to one end—
> The living on princes' smiles, reflected from
> A mighty herd of favorites. No mean trick
> He left untried, and truly well-nigh wormed
> All traces of God's finger out of him;
> Then died, grown old. And just an hour before,
> Having lain long with blank and soulless eyes,
> He sat up suddenly, and with natural voice
> Said that in spite of thick air and closed doors
> God told him it was June; and he knew well,
> Without such telling, harebells grew in June;
> And all that kings could ever give or take
> Would not be precious as those blooms to him.

The intimation is that when a man's heart, sickened of shams and shows and the base insincerities of courts, turns back like a child among the flowers, the banks of the River of Life might not impossibly be somewhere near where those harebells were abloom.

It is not surprising when lifelong unbelievers confess their faith in the words of Thomas, "My Lord and my God!" Ripening experience and advancing seasons bring men to solemn situations, and make trifling impossible. Supreme questions can no longer be postponed. The time when they could be debated and held in suspense is past. The peremptory hour has arrived which forces decision. The soul hears itself spoken to in the imperative mood, and must face its responsibility without evasion. Strauss wrote near the end of life: "I have reached, indeed overstepped, the threshold of old age. There every earnest man has to listen to the Voice within, 'Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer steward.'" The pinch of life's ultimate exigencies is severe. The pressure, *in extremis*, must be enormous, like the weight of a thousand atmospheres on every square inch of man's rational and moral being. In a lecture by Bishop Arthur Cleveland Coxe at Kenyon College were these words:

Says one who knows too well the emptiness of a life shaped by other maxims, 'The most logical attitude of the *thinker*, in the presence of religion is *to act as though it were true.*' 'One should *believe* as though God and the soul existed.' Whose experience dictates this as the philosophy of life? Of course, every believer's — but, I believe in the depths of my soul, every infidel's not less, when daylight dies away from him and the shadows of the dark valley begin to appall. For he who says this is the brilliant Renan, the same unhappy man whose perpetual endeavor it has been to double damn his countrymen, delivering them over again to a reign of terror and despair." Dr. Paulus, a professor at Heidelberg, was an atheist who denied immortality and the supernatural. When his final illness began he said he was about to die, and that that would be the end of him. For hours he lay in coma—no word, no look, no sign. It was supposed he would never rouse from that stupor. All at once his eyes opened and gazed at the ceiling as if he saw something those about him could not see; raising his head, he said distinctly, "There is another life;" in a moment he was gone.

If new light ever falls upon the soul and new visions of reality are ever given, it may well be when life's experience reaches or approaches its climax and its close. The ancient Egyptians had a temple so constructed that on a certain day of the year the setting sun, as it touched the horizon, would send its rays straight through the propylæa and the long vista of walls and columns within till they fell upon the statue of the divinity in the most sacred secret place. Does the sunset hour of life send fuller light through the temple of man's soul to make more bright that image of divinity which is in him? Matthew Arnold on his last Sabbath attended the Sefton Park Presbyterian Church, Liverpool. It was sacrament morning; the sermon was on the Shadow of the Cross; and the closing hymn was,

> When I survey the wondrous cross
> On which the Prince of glory died.

At the home of his brother-in-law, after service, a servant heard him repeating to himself, on the stairs, the first lines of that hymn. At luncheon he spoke about the hymn and said he thought it the finest in the English language. When he rose from the table he went out, and in ten minutes he was dead—dead, with his mind dwelling on the cross of Christ—a *finale* hardly anticipated by readers of his books.

THE ARENA.

DIOCESE AND DISTRICT.

Most of the criticisms which have appeared upon the article in the September *Review*, entitled "Methodist Episcopacy in Transition," have not only ignored certain patent facts, but have misstated the writer's position by using certain terms in a sense which he carefully avoided giving to them. This is specially true of the brief criticism quoted in the January number of the *Review* from the *Methodist Review* of Nashville, Tenn. The phrase "quadrennial diocesan episcopacy," although placed within quotation marks, is not mine. The words "diocese" and "diocesan," as used in this discussion, are misleading. There is hardly anything in common between the Anglican diocese and the proposed Methodist district except the fact that both have geographical boundaries. According to the Anglican theory the bishop is before, and, of course, above, the Church, and logically the diocese must take the place which the "historic" theory assigns it. The Methodist theory, on the other hand, makes the bishop the servant of the Church, and his proposed district is simply a special field of labor to which he is assigned for a given time. Extremely misleading is the constant practice of assuming that any and every proposal to introduce system into our present "systemless" usage means, and must mean, the adoption of the Protestant Episcopal diocese.

Another mistake is made by assuming that our present-day usage is identical with the original "plan" to which reference is made in the third restrictive rule. Dr. Tigert professes to be startled by the bare suggestion of a change in our modern usage, not perceiving, apparently, that this usage has nothing to do with the "plan" as it existed in the mind of Joshua Soule. Previous to 1852 the present method of making annual assignments of the bishops to the Conferences was unknown. The same bishop often retained charge of a group of Conferences for a number of successive years. In the minds of the fathers the term "plan" manifestly had no reference to the details of method adopted either by the bishop or the General Conference, but referred only to the arrangement by which an episcopacy was to be secured to the Church, which was to be unique in possessing the distinctive characteristics, "itinerant" and "general." To assume that the present absence of anything worthy of the name of plan was the thing contemplated by the authors of the restrictive rules is to give them credit for an accurate foresight of an ecclesiastical policy which had no existence at all until nearly half a century after their day.

The question at issue is a very plain one. An episcopacy was established with a proviso that it must remain permanently "itinerant" and "general." But, as a matter of fact, it has ceased to be general, in that it leaves vast sections of the Church without episcopal superintendence.

To say that this failure is made up by the presence of presiding elders is to trifle with words. There were presiding elders in the Church when the rule was adopted, and yet it was expected that the bishops should personally visit every district. Then, as to the word "itinerant," it is no longer applied to the episcopacy in the Methodist sense of the word. It keeps the bishops in motion, it is true, but it sends them through the Church and over the world on a series of extraordinary tours, the utility of which practical men fail to see, and the nature of which is in singular contrast with the orderly methods of the itinerant system as applied elsewhere. I unhesitatingly and firmly believe in the episcopal form of government and in the itinerant Methodist system with its historic modifications. I also believe that the episcopal superintendence should be general, and for this reason I have ventured to advocate a policy which will put a Methodist bishop at every point where one is needed, and thus give the Church what she now has only in very imperfect measure, an itinerant general superintendency. When Bishop Thomson edited *The Christian Advocate* he advocated similar views, and it was from that loyal man that I learned to cherish the hope of a more excellent ecclesiastical way.

Penang, Malaysia. J. M. THOBURN.

CHURCH PAPERS FOR SUNDAY READING.

THE writer has a conviction, born both of experience and observation, that the value of the best Church paper varies according to the time of the week it reaches its readers. Let experience be heard from first. In the summer of 1893 I was stationed in Colorado, at a point where *The Christian Advocate* reached me regularly on Saturday. As a rule it was hardly more than unfolded till Sunday afternoon, most of which I had for reading. Though I had taken this paper for thirteen years I never realized what a treasure it was till I had those Sabbath afternoons to give to its perusal while, to me, it was fresh. Of especial value did I find the page on "The Christian Life." The Sunday atmosphere, after the Sunday school and Church worship of the forenoon, gave a wholesome flavor to that excellent department. I read, also, with relish and profit most of the longer articles of the paper, something I had done but rarely and irregularly in all the years I had been a subscriber. This was not the first time I had been blessed with leisure on Sunday, but as I had always lived where the paper reached me as early as Friday I had usually read the shorter articles and items at the first, and by Sunday it was laid aside for something else. Later in 1893 I moved to a point farther west, where *The Christian Advocate* did not reach me till Monday morning. Though my summer experience had taught me to value it more highly than ever before, I found it impossible to read it as much under these changed conditions as I had in the summer. It would get the old time "skimming over" when it first came; often no more. On Sunday there was seldom any disposition to hunt up a paper that had been off the presses nearly two weeks and thrown around in my study

nearly one full week. As a result I got but little value out of one of my most valued Church papers. I was afterward relating this experience to an eminent educator in Denver, when he gave me a similar experience in connection with another New York weekly, *The Outlook*. Picking up a copy from his table, he said: "Here is a paper that regularly reaches me on Saturday evening, and I invariably read it on Sunday. If it came earlier in the week I would have no time to read it, and by Sunday its freshness would be so nearly gone I would likely have but little disposition to read it."

Distant subscribers will doubtless appreciate the fact that most religious weeklies go to press in the first part of the week chiefly for their benefit, but for "the greatest good to the greatest number" I feel warranted in advocating a change to the other end of the week, especially for all our Methodist weeklies. If all of these official papers with the date of Saturday went to press early Friday morning, and were mailed Friday evening, they could be distributed over an area having a radius of six hundred miles from each publishing center before the post offices would close on Saturday night; and as for distant subscribers, if all mailing were to stop by Saturday noon, so that no Sunday mail train would carry Methodist official literature, and no postal servant employ Sunday in handling papers that are sometimes rife with Conference resolutions against Sabbath desecration—with such an arrangement these distant subscribers would fare as well as they do now, for a New York paper delivered in Omaha on Saturday is pretty largely made up the week previous anyhow. In other words, they would fare about as the majority of subscribers now fare, getting their paper near the middle of the week.

Observation coincides with experience in support of the conviction that our Church papers are read much less than they would be if the majority of subscribers received them on the eve of the Sabbath. In most homes, Methodist with the rest, there is but little reading during the week aside from the daily newspaper. That the Church paper should aim to compete with the Sunday secular in all respects I do not advocate; but that it should use every legitimate plan to engage for itself a larger portion of the principal reading day of the week is a pressing necessity. If there is to be any check to the increasing demand for the Sunday newspaper might not the antidote be found in publishing the Church weekly and putting it into the home a little nearer the time that the secular paper is placed there? Since religious editors have a whole week to prepare one issue, while in that time the secular editors must make seven, it seems that the Church weekly ought to be able to compete with the Sunday secular in general attractiveness, at any rate in Christian homes; and if the Church paper could only be found in those homes on Sunday morning, having some of that freshness which is the chief charm of the Sunday secular, there certainly would be some chance for competition. It may be claimed by some that the news feature is the principal attraction of the Sunday paper, particularly the sensational

news in it, and that in this feature the Church paper can never compete. But it is evident that the publishers of the Sunday paper do not regard this feature as the chief attraction, else why would they put into that paper so much matter in addition to the news? In multitudes of Christian homes there is much more time spent on the Sunday newspaper than would be required in getting the news, sensational and all the rest. Perhaps much is read in that paper which might be found in the library of those very homes, but which would not be read if not found fresh in the newspaper. In this department of general reading the Church paper certainly could compete and would have as good a chance to cultivate a taste for itself as the secular paper has, or nearly so. Of course it could never be quite as fresh as the secular paper on Sunday, but aside from the news it would appear as fresh if it were not seen in the home till Sunday morning.

If our Church papers were published late in the week it might be an experiment worth trying to send them in packages to all the large cities and have them delivered on Saturday night by private carriers. Our "officials" are numerous enough, and published at such centers as to be able to cover all their own territory, with a bare exception or two, by Saturday night if mailed on Friday night. If this, or some similar plan, were undertaken, it would be found that we have not too many official papers, and might even have to add one or two.

The alteration I suggest is certainly not a revolution. It simply asks a change in the time of going to press with our Church papers from the first end of the week to the last. From the standpoint of the subscriber and reader this suggestion seems feasible and advantageous. To editors and publishers it may seem like worthless theorizing. Nevertheless it is hereby submitted, in good faith, for general and charitable consideration.

St. Louis, Mo. COLUMBUS BRADFORD.

THE SOUL A SUBSTANTIAL ENTITY.

THE saintly and scholarly Dr. James Strong has left us the result of his readings and reflections on immortality in a little book entitled *The Doctrine of a Future Life.* In reference to "disembodied spirit" he says: "All information by observation or testimony is shut out; every avenue of external intelligence is closed. . . . No act, properly such, can be put forth by a spirit destitute of all apparatus and opportunity for it. . . . No thought or feeling will occupy the mind but gladness of review, luxury of soul communion, and rapture of anticipation." "There is," says the author, "no *tertium quid* or intermediate substance between body and spirit."

This seems a bold assertion in face of the latest announcements of science. The very corner stone of the material universe is the atom, a substance unseen; and the fluid that fills the spaces between the rolling worlds is a thing so misty and mysterious that none of the senses can come in touch with it. Who knows but that some subtle substance, al-

ready contained within the body, may incase or clothe the soul around, and depart with it, and live with its life, inseparable from its existence? "There is a spiritual body." "We have . . . a house not made with hands." We desire not to be "unclothed but clothed upon." "Flesh and blood" are ruled out, but not spiritual, or pneumatical, substance. That all the departed saints shall wait for the resurrection without an embodying substance of some kind, as unclothed guests might wait outside a palace because unfit to enter, is a theory which is, to say the least, unproved.

The authors of that profoundly thoughtful book called *The Unseen Universe*, lay down two general conditions of organized life: "There must be an organ connecting the individual with the past; and there must be such a frame and such a universe that the living being has the power of varied action in the present. . . . We cannot imagine a finite intelligence to exist without organization." They show there is nothing in physical philosophy that can lead us to doubt the existence of immaterial substances. They take the position that, as the physical substance of the visible universe and the beginnings of life must have originated in an invisible universe, and as the present material system is tending to inevitable decay, the laws of continuity and of the conservation of energy make it probable that the available energy of the visible universe will ultimately be appropriated by the ether; and, as a separate existence, the visible universe itself may disappear, "so that we shall have no huge useless, inert mass in far-off ages to remind the passer-by of a species of matter which will then have become long since out of date and functionally effete. Why should not the universe bury its dead out of sight?"

If we are surrounded by an invisible universe it is not unscientific to suppose that souls slip from the one universe into the other, that angelic beings should come and go, and that God himself should reach out a hand divine from a world so near. Supernal forces seem to us as human forces must seem to bees in a hive when a hand intrudes, or to ants when a human footstep makes itself felt on their lowly roof. Incarnation, resurrection, ascension, providential interposition, are like gleams of sunlight through the windows of a home. The spiritual world is not an unnatural world, but an overshadowing and encircling sphere of being which receives the redeemed of earth and crowns them with fullness of life.

Such a view of the heavenly world accords with facts of Scripture and experience—Stephen's rapturous vision, John's apocalyptic glimpses of glory, Jacob's wondrous dream, the sight of celestial chariots that met the opened spiritual sense of Elisha's servant, the strange sweet recognitions of saintly men and women in all ages as they have lingered on the confines of the future world. Spirit forms may be seen by the inner sense, but not spirits without forms. Heaven is not a world of shadows, but a world of sentient, substantial souls. Innate longings go out toward a natural and human heaven—not toward a dreamy and shadowy sphere occupied by beings *in transitu*, waiting in calm and trancelike state for

the resurrection, the second advent, and the judgment day to inaugurate their real life.

The poet Tennyson, who, in his masterpiece, "In Memoriam," shows such keen insight into humanity and its hopes, is said to have remarked: "I believe that, beside our material body, we have an immaterial body, something like what the Egyptians called the Ka. . . . The spirit flashes out of this shadow into substance." Is this not both scriptural and sensible?

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IS DR. WHEELER RIGHT?

On page 169 of the January–February number, in a review of Dr. D. H. Wheeler's *Our Industrial Utopia, and Its Unhappy Citizens*, occurs this statement: "Notable, too, is his approval of the theory concerning land that it has no value except what has been put into it by labor, which of itself is a refutation of Henry George's doctrine of government ownership and the single tax." I greatly wonder that so clear a thinker as is Dr. Wheeler should fail to see the one-sidedness of the "theory" to which he gives his "approval." Land and labor depend each upon the other for its value. Labor is absolutely helpless except land supply it with raw material. Land is absolutely valueless except labor transform it into wealth. Land and labor are the two coordinated legs upon which society perambulates. No substitute for the coordination, nor for either of the legs, can be found. Destroy the coordination, and society is unbalanced; labor, and it tumbles; land, and it is helplessly crippled. In the statement under consideration let the terms "land" and "labor" exchange places, and it would be no further from the truth than as it now stands. A much nearer approach, however, to the whole truth is made in the proposition that both derive all the value they possess from association with each other. We conclude, therefore, that Dr. Wheeler has given his "approval" to a very untrustworthy "theory."

What disposition shall be made of wealth, the joint product of land and labor? Consider, in answering, that labor (brain and brawn) is the gift of God (nature) to the individual, and that land is the gift of God (nature) to the race. In order to produce profit (wages or rent) the individual and the race must form a copartnership. In the enterprise the individual must invest his worthless labor; the race, its valueless land. The profits should be divided accordingly. Wages, the profit of labor by virtue of its association with land, should accrue to the individual. See Luke x, 7. Rent, the profit of land by virtue of its association with labor, should accrue to the race. See Eccles. v, 9.

We conclude, therefore, that wages should belong to the individual producing them; that land rents should be collected by the government for the people; and that this "is of itself a" substantiation "of Henry George's doctrine of" common "ownership and the single tax." He who has a more equitable, natural, and scriptural doctrine has a great opportunity to become famous.

J. L. VALLOW.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

"BAPTIZED FOR THE DEAD."—1 COR. XV, 29.

THE passages of Scripture which perplex modern critics were equally perplexing to the early Church. One would suppose that the enlightenment and critical skill of the present age would have been successful in clearing up these difficult passages; but many problems still remain to be solved, and the work of the exegete has not been superseded. The early expositors are still the fountain whence we draw our most satisfactory explanations of Scripture.

The passage under consideration is one upon which much learning, and especially much conjecture, have been expended. "What shall they do which are baptized for the dead?" It is clear that there was in the early Church a baptism for the dead the exact nature of which has not been made known to us. An exhaustive catalogue of interpretations may be found in the critical commentaries. We give the list furnished by Dean Stanley as an example of the vagaries of exegesis. The interpretation adopted by Dean Stanley is, "Those who are baptized vicariously for the dead." Other interpretations are: 1. "What shall they gain who are baptized *for the removal of their dead works?*" 2. "What shall they gain who are baptized *for the hope of the resurrection of the dead?*" (Chrysostom.) 3. "What shall they gain who are baptized *into the death of Christ?*" 4. "What shall they gain who are *afflicted* (compare Luke xii, 50; Mark x, 38) *for the hope of the resurrection of the dead?*" 5. What shall they gain who are baptized at the moment of death, *with a view to their state when dead*" (alluding to the practice of deathbed baptisms)? 6. "What shall they gain who are baptized *into the place of the dead martyrs?*" 7. "What shall they gain who are baptized *into the name of the dead* (John and Christ)?" 8. "What shall they gain who are baptized *in order to convert those who are dead in sin?*" 9. "What shall they gain who are baptized *only to die?*" 10. "What shall they gain who are baptized *over the graves of the dead*" (that is, the martyrs, etc.)? 11. "What shall they gain who are baptized when dying, *as a sign that their dead bodies shall be raised?*" 12. "What shall they gain who are baptized *for the good of the Christian dead;* that is, *to hasten the day of the resurrection by accomplishing the number of the elect?*"

The selection among these must be largely a matter of conjecture and of greater or less probability, for none of them is entirely free from difficulties. Dean Stanley's view, that our text is an allusion to the practice of "vicarious baptism," is probably the prevalent one. It is said that there was a custom of the Corinthians of the first century, and afterward of the Marcionites, to baptize a living person in behalf of one who had died in the faith, but unbaptized. It was baptism by proxy. It is generally agreed that this is the most natural meaning of the passage. The objec-

tion to it is not a linguistic one. It seems unreasonable that Paul would have sanctioned by an allusion even such a superstitious practice. This objection is strongly urged by Calvin and others. On the other hand, so careful and conservative an expositor as Ellicott favors this as the most tenable view, but evidently with some misgivings. He announces his decision with the statement that "the reference to a custom which, if it then existed, must have been condemned creates a real difficulty."

If this be rejected, then there are but two other interpretations which may be seriously considered —one involving an ellipsis, and the other an unusual meaning of the word "baptized." The former is that of Chrysostom. This interpretation involves an ellipsis of "the resurrection," making it read baptized "for the resurrection of the dead," showing a belief in the doctrine of the resurrection. The chief objection is that it involves a truism, and adds nothing to the force of the apostle's argument. This explanation also involves an unusual meaning of the preposition *ὑπέρ*, translated "for." The other rendering to which we have referred is the employment of the word "baptized" in a scriptural sense, and with a meaning which harmonizes with the verse following. It is the use of "are baptized" in the sense of *suffer*. "What shall they do who suffer for the dead?" The passages which illustrate this will readily occur to the reader and need not to be mentioned. The following verse seems to harmonize with this meaning, namely, "Why stand we in jeopardy every hour?" This usage of the word "baptize" is found in Mark x, 38, 39: "Ye know not what ye ask: can ye drink of the cup that I drink of? and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? And they said unto him, We can. And Jesus said unto them, Ye shall indeed drink of the cup that I drink of; and with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized." This passage has generally been interpreted as referring to the baptism of trial and suffering through which the apostles would be called upon to pass. This interpretation harmonizes with the verses which follow our text: "Why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by your rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily." We cannot, of course, claim this as the ordinary rendering of the word "baptized," but it is a possible rendering; and, in a passage where something must be supplied, a possible meaning of a word which harmonizes with the context and gives force to the whole argument is a safe interpretation among so many conflicting opinions.

THE MINISTER AS A COMFORTER.

In that most personal and touching of all Paul's letters, his second letter to the Corinthians, he blesses God for comforting him in his tribulations, and at the same time recognizes a divine purpose in all God's consolations, namely, "that we may be able to comfort them that are in any affliction" (2 Cor. i, 4). The Greek is very beautiful and forceful: *ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει.* It is noteworthy that the word "comfort" occurs ten times from the

third to the eighth verses of this chapter. How sore the soul to whom these words of healing were so welcome!

The doctrine of the text is that God bestows his comforts on us, not for ourselves only, but to enable us to comfort others. This thought is especially suggestive when we pause and look around us. Many changes have occurred within a brief period. Fortunes have been made and lost; reputations and positions in life have been gained or have vanished; death has moved on with steady step, and only when we review the ended year do we recognize how triumphant his march has been. One has only to note the changes that take place during a sojourn abroad for even a few months. Nor is death the only source of human sorrow. Sadness in home and in personal life whose pangs are even worse than bereavement are ever coming to our notice.

It follows that one of the highest privileges and duties of the minister is to be the bearer of consolation. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians is the expression of the heart of the great apostle. He has suffered, he has been comforted, and he recognizes an end in his consolations, namely, that he may comfort others. It may be that he includes other Christian ambassadors besides himself in the "us" of the text, for his word is a basis for that ministry of consolation which the world expects from God's servants.

The word here rendered "comfort" is opposed to "tribulation," and marks the relief which comes from the Father of mercies, who is also designated as the God of consolation. The verb παρακαλεῖν, "to comfort," in many passages is "the technical term for a specific kind of Christian teaching, namely, that in which beseeching (2 Cor. v, 20), admonition, and comfort predominate." It appeals to the will, rather than to the intellect, and aims to win, rather than to subdue. The noun has a similar significance. The idea of comfort by means of the Gospel is clearly set forth. "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted" (Matt. v, 4). The Church at Antioch, when it received the letter from the first Church council at Jerusalem, "rejoiced at the consolation." The same word is employed in Acts xiii, 15, but is there rendered "exhortation." It might without impropriety be rendered, "If ye have any word of consolation for the people say on." In Rom. xii, 8, is the phrase, "He that exhorteth, on exhortation." It might be rendered, "He that comforteth, on comfort." These passages have been adduced to show how fully the Scriptures refer to consolation as one of the great offices of the Gospel, and consequently of the Gospel minister.

The Church has always regarded the characterization of Barnabas, "son of consolation," as one of the choicest eulogies of a Christian minister. This is a characteristic which receives little public recognition, but it is nevertheless a quality not to be despised. We recall a preacher of great eminence whose sermons are clothed in choicest English and whose name is a synonym for fidelity in every department of church work; but, when spoken of by those who have been nearest him, it has always been remarked as his chief glory that he has been the comforter of his troubled

people. His name is written in the hearts of hundreds to whom he has thus brought tenderest ministrations.

This power to comfort others differs in different persons. Some are sympathetic by nature and can readily and naturally approach the troubled, while others equally ready find it difficult. There are those, too, who hesitate to offer sympathy as being an intrusion upon the sacredness of human sorrow. All this should be considered. Obtrusiveness is never more out of place than in attempting to administer consolation. Yet, though sometimes no word can be spoken, the sympathetic heart carries its message by an unseen current and reaches the heart that most needs it.

Should not this element pervade our preaching more fully than it does? Many men and women in our churches are hard worked. They find life's burden very heavy, and bring to the house of God a sense of loneliness and weariness of which they are scarcely conscious. How cheering if they can recognize in the minister's word the voice of the Master, saying, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Such a word does not always imply a formal allusion to human suffering, nor is there required any false sentimentality in dealing with the subject; but the spirit of consolation should be the atmosphere in which all the minister's work is carried forward.

We have not referred to the truths of the Gospel as the real consoling element; that is everywhere assumed. The Holy Spirit is the "Comforter." Life and immortality have been brought to light in the Gospel. It is the preacher's duty to see to it that these great grounds of consolation are not obscured, but that they find the same prominence in the Christian pulpit that they have in the word of God.

The apostle, however, alludes to a preparation for comforting others which is very sad, for it is wrought out in tears. Paul passed through it. He had been pressed without measure; "without were fightings, within were fears." He knew the bitterness of the struggle of life. He even desired "to depart, and be with Christ, which is far better." Nevertheless, he resolved that to abide in the flesh was more needful for the Church. So, when the light shone into his soul, and God came to him with his rich consolations, he burst out in thanksgiving, because thereby he would "be able to comfort them that are in any affliction." It is the joy of many ministers, as they review the sorrows and cares of the year now past, that they have thus been able to comfort the lonely and the sorrowful.

HOW TO STUDY THE BIBLE.

In all Christian countries the Bible is recognized as the source of religious teaching, and its study is enjoined by the Christian pulpit and press as one of the most sacred duties. It is nevertheless true that this study is in the main perfunctory, and that there is a gross neglect of systematic and spiritual reading of the Bible. It is, further, no contradiction to this statement to add that so profound a scholastic interest in the Bible has never existed before, and that its friends and foes were

never so busy in forging armor, both for attack and defense, as in these closing years of the nineteenth century. Discussion of the topic, "How Shall We Study the Bible?" is always timely, and never more so than now.

It will be at once recognized as a truism that we cannot study the Bible successfully unless we have an intelligent conception of what we mean by the Bible. It is well known that the name "Bible," as applied to our sacred writings, was not introduced until the fourth century, probably by St. Chrysostom. The word originally meant the papyrus plant, the inner bark of which was used of old as a material for writing; then the name of the material on which the manuscripts were written was applied to the contents of the separate books, as "the book of Moses" (Mark xii, 26), "the book of Psalms" (Luke xx, 42); and then, after centuries, to the "entire word of God."*

The Bible differs from other books in that it was not written by one author, but by different authors, in different ages, and on various topics. It opens with the Book of Genesis, which records the origin of the material universe and of human history, and closes with the Apocalypse by St. John, which describes with symbolic splendor the final triumph of the kingdom of God. Thousands of years separate the great historical events which it narrates. The writers, too, differ from each other in style and appear in different ages and under diverse forms of civilization. Some of the books are poetical, like the Psalms; some are didactic, like the Proverbs; some are prophetic, like Isaiah and Nahum; some are doctrinal, like Romans; some practical, like James; some spiritual, like the epistles of St. John. Their coloring is largely local, and their methods and style are as varied as their topics and as the personal characteristics of their authors. The Bible seems to be a library rather than a single book. It is thus like the material universe, in which all the sciences find their roots and their expression. The same earth-crust is examined by the geologist, the mineralogist, the chemist, the antiquarian, and the philosopher. So the same Bible is investigated by the scientist, the philologist, the statesman, the philosopher, the critic, the moralist, and the human soul absorbed in the highest spiritual problems; and it is expected to yield satisfactory answers to them all.

Notwithstanding all this diversity, our Bible is one book. It has one sublime purpose—the salvation of men from sin, thus ennobling humanity. It has one author, God, by whose inspiration the various writers of the different ages have communicated to us his will. It has been demanded of this book by the critics, and the justice of the demand has been accepted by its friends, that every part shall harmonize with every other part, and that Genesis and Revelation, the Old Testament and the New, shall at no point contradict each other. At this stage the schools of attack and defense diverge. Into such discussions our topic does not call us to enter. We merely mention it to show that we claim for our Bible that its authors were inspired by God.

* Alexander, *New Testament Literature*, p. 7.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

It is greatly to be regretted that we have no very ancient manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible; indeed, the oldest so far discovered is of comparatively recent origin. The earliest manuscript of any portion of the Old Testament in the Hebrew language is that called the "Later Prophets' Codex," supposed to have been written A. D. 916. The next oldest is one of the entire Old Testament, said to have been written A. D. 1009. Both of these precious documents are in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. What is known as the "Reuchlin Codex of the Prophets," now at Carlsruhe in Germany, bears the date of A. D. 1105. The great bulk of Hebrew manuscripts originated at a much later time, somewhere between the twelfth and sixteenth century of the Christian era. According to the conservative view, the last book of the Old Testament was written at least four hundred years B. C.; and even the most liberal critic will admit that the entire Old Testament was completed before the birth of Christ. Thus, according to the most radical view, more than one thousand years had elapsed between the completion of the original autographs and the most ancient copies in our possession. During the writing of this article word comes from England that Dr. Gaster exhibited some ancient manuscripts at a recent meeting (on January 14) of the Society of Biblical Archæology in London, and at the same time read a paper entitled "Some Unique Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bible of the Ninth and Tenth Century." This paper is soon to be published in the "Proceedings" of the society. It is to be hoped that these documents will prove genuine and offer material aid to biblical textual criticism.

Such a long period having elapsed between the original autographs and oldest transcripts, it is but natural to think that the latter contain some errors. Not only have the original disappeared, but probably many copies even of copies made in that long interval have also been lost. It is more than likely that each succeeding copy would be somewhat less correct than its predecessor. For, in spite of the scrupulous care bestowed by the Hebrews upon the correct reproductions of their sacred books, a multitude of errors of one kind or another have crept in. Many of these have been pointed out by the Masorites, and supposedly more correct readings have been suggested in the footnotes found in our ordinary Hebrew Bibles. Unfortunately, these notes, though numerous, are of minor importance, for they are chiefly concerned with the accents, orthography, or pronunciation; and indeed many of them are positively wrong. Driver, in his *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, has well said: "The work of the Masorites, it should be remembered, was essentially *conservative;* their aim was not to *form* a text, but, by fixing the pronunciation and other means, to *preserve* a text which (in all essentials)

they received already formed, from others. The antecedents of the text which thus became the basis of the Masoretic text can only be determined approximately by conjecture."

The preservation of the Hebrew Scriptures has been the marvel of the ages; for, in spite of war, captivity, and persecution, we have a goodly number of these ancient writings, mostly in language perfectly intelligible. That the sacred writings of a people subjected to so many difficulties should contain errors is natural. For, though the scribes for the most part executed their work with great conscientiousness and punctilious care, we are not to regard them as infallible or inspired. As time rolled on, and the Jews became scattered over the earth, not only would they forget their own language, but words and phrases would change their meaning, and many idiomatical expressions would become unintelligible. Hence there would arise a variety of renderings. Besides, there were men in all ages, as to-day, who used words carelessly, without trying to grasp their meaning. Were there no transcribers of this kind?

It is hardly necessary to apprise any of our readers that the Hebrew was originally written without any vowels. This must have been a fertile source of errors. Take one of the most familiar roots in the Hebrew language, פקד (pkd), just three consonants. By using the proper vowels perhaps a score of words, all differing, at least slightly, in meaning, could be formed. It would be difficult, indeed, always to strike the right meaning, the one intended by the original writer. Imagine a book of the size of the Old Testament being entirely written with consonants, without one single vowel; and imagine, further, that this book was copied and recopied age after age, for ten or fifteen hundred years, in countries widely separated, and often by copyists of little aptitude and education. Those who have been engaged in the study and teaching of dead languages know well how little insight and critical taste some people, though devout and of excellent character, possess, and how difficult it is for them to enter into the niceties of etymology and construction. Have we any business to expect more of an ancient Hebrew copyist than of modern Americans engaged in the same work?

As a specimen of a passage which has defied the translators, and which shows how little we know about its real meaning, we can do no better than call the reader's attention to Prov. xxvi, 10. This verse Canon Farrar recognizes as one of "those 'dark sayings' which were purposely intended to exercise the ingenuity." The learned canon points out the several readings. In our Authorized Version it is rendered, "The great God that formed all things both rewardeth the fool, and rewardeth transgressors." In the Revised Version it is:

> As an archer that woundeth all,
> So is he that hireth the fool and he that hireth them that pass by.

The margin again gives:

> A master worker formeth all things;
> But he that hireth the fool is as one that hireth them that pass by.

Rosenmueller renders it:

> The mighty man causes terror;
> So does he who hireth the fool and the transgressor.

Gesenius, Hitzig, and Umbreit translate the words thus:

> Much produces all;
> But he who employs a fool is as one who employs passers-by.

Delitzsch, altering the vowel points, renders the passage thus:

> Much bringeth forth all;
> But the hire of a fool and his hirer perish.

How early vowel points were invented and came into general use is a mooted question. It is generally agreed that the Septuagint Version was made without their aid. Josephus also must have read and translated from an unpointed text, as otherwise passages quoted by him could not have been so different from the present Masoretic text. There is also evidence that Jerome, the author of the Vulgate, who died 420 A. D., used the unpointed Hebrew. It is very possible that a scribe or a rabbi here and there employed some private marks to assist correct pronunciation; but it is almost certain that vowels were not in general use till the seventh century of our era.

We must again remember that the Hebrew people did not always have the beautiful and regular square characters, such as we have at present. These are rather the products of a gradual development, an evolution from an original alphabet once common to the Semitic languages. The following, quoted by Driver from the Talmud, is of special interest: "Originally the law was given to Israel in the Hebrew character and in the sacred tongue; it was given to them again, in the days of Ezra, in the Assyrian character and in the Aramaic tongue. Israel chose for themselves the Assyrian character and the sacred tongue, and left to the idiots the Hebrew character and the Aramaic tongue." It would be very easy to multiply quotations to prove the same fact. Whoever is curious to see the characters used by the ancient Hebrews should turn to the comparative table of ancient Semitic alphabets in Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar. Here he will find exact reproductions taken from various objects, which are now preserved in the museums, and thus will be enabled to notice the gradual development from the most ancient characters yet found to the present square letter. The oldest is the inscription found at Dibon, commonly called the Moabite Stone, belonging to the time of King Mesha (2 Kings iii, 4), who lived about 900 B. C. The most important and oldest inscription, purely Hebrew, is that found on one of the walls of the Pool of Siloam, generally supposed to belong to the time of Hezekiah (see 2 Kings xx, 20). Then we have short inscriptions on gems and stone, and still later on Hebrew coins, as of the Maccabean prince Simon (about 140 B. C.). Then there are some Aramaic manuscripts from the third century to the first B. C., and last of all some Palmyrene inscriptions from the first to the third century A. D. Thus,

as Dillmann says, we are enabled to trace the development of the present Hebrew alphabet through a thousand years. We have entered so fully into the subject of these inscriptions in order to show how easy it would have been in this period of ever-changing alphabets for a copyist to have made some errors in transcription.

But again, even in the manuscripts which have the square characters, many of the letters resemble one another so closely as to require the most constant care in order to avoid all mistakes. Every Hebrew scholar will recall the time when he confounded some of the following letters: י, ו, ן, ר, ך, ד; ב, כ; ה, ח, ת; שׁ, שׂ (y, v, n, k, d, r; k, b; h, ch, t; s, sh). Add to this the similarity between sounds, as between the Hebrew for *not* and *to him*. Even in writing English, where is the man who has not sometimes written "to" for "too," "here" for "hear," etc.?

Leaving the errors that could have arisen in some of the various ways above described, it is not quite certain that the copyists always aimed at being exact. Indeed, it is possible that such work was done more conscientiously in post-biblical times than before the close of the canon. Strange as this assertion may seem, it nevertheless becomes clear that such was the case, if we compare those sections which have been repeated, as many passages in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. Or, to be more definite, let anyone compare, verse by verse, the triumphal ode of David as given in 2 Sam. xxiv and in Psalm xviii, or Psalms xiv and liii, which are virtually the same. The differences between the two copies are quite noticeable, and cannot always be explained by the carelessness of the copyist, inasmuch as many of the changes must have been made purposely—although Dillmann may go too far in concluding from these differences that there was a time when the Hebrews regarded their sacred writings less sacred or inspired than they did ages later.

Enough has been said in the foregoing paragraph to show how mistakes could have been made and variants have arisen. That such errors and corruptions exist in the Masoretic text is a fact which even the beginner in the study of Hebrew has discovered; that some books are much more corrupt than others is also a fact that none will deny. Take, for instance, the books of Samuel. Who has not been perplexed in trying to find out the correct reading of the text as it was in the first copy? The great question now is how we can restore the original text. As we have seen, there is a gap of over one thousand years between our most ancient Hebrew manuscripts and the latest of the original autographs, and considerably over two thousand years between anything Moses could have written and the codex now found in the Museum of St. Petersburg. The most sanguine of us may still cherish the hope that the pick and the spade, or the ever-watchful eye of the excavator and archæologist, may yet in some nook or corner of some venerable ruin discover manuscripts at least as old as any we have of the New Testament. Yea, more: if such a library as the Tel-el-Amarna tablets has been found, why may we not hope and pray that the original of some, if not of all, of the Old Testament books may yet come to light?

In the meantime the best we can do is to study patiently and compare carefully the several ancient versions or translations of the Hebrew Bible —such as the Septuagint, written at least before the birth of our Saviour, and according to the conservative view not far from three hundred years before that time, and the various versions of the Septuagint, like that of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, all written before the close of the second century of our era. Then, to say nothing of the Hebrew Targums, there are other translations and early versions, such as the Syriac, Arabic, Vulgate, etc. If the text is to be amended at all it must be done, in the absence of the original autographs, with the help of the versions above mentioned. Though several distinguished scholars have undertaken to give an improved Hebrew text of some of the Old Testament books, we have so far nothing quite complete in this line. Now, however, this gap is to be filled up, for Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins, with the assistance of several of the most eminent biblical scholars in this country and Europe, has commenced the publication of such a work. This new critical edition of the Hebrew text will be noticed more fully in a subsequent issue.

A RISING CONSERVATIVE BIBLICIST.

Many Americans who attended the theological department of the University of Halle, Prussia, between 1870 and 1880, will readily recall the manly form and pleasant face of Adolph Zahn, D.D., who for many years was the chief pastor of the Reformed Church, known in that famous city of theologians as the "Dom Kirche," or Cathedral. His kindness to English-speaking students was proverbial; none of them stayed any length of time in Halle without receiving an invitation to dine with the great preacher. He was drawn to them on account of their conservative views and Christian experience. Dr. Zahn is a moderate Calvinist and a great admirer of Princeton College, and especially of Dr. Green, whose views on biblical questions he accepts. Though very popular with foreigners, he was a thorn in the flesh of the great majority of his German brethren in the ministry and an object of ridicule to the theological faculty. Whenever any of the greater lights condescended to speak of him it was usually with a sneer, and the fact that Dr. Zahn held that Moses had written the Pentateuch was to them a positive proof that he pursued unscientific methods. But, notwithstanding opposition in high places, he has steadily crept up, and now holds a commanding position. His Deuteronomy made quite an impression, and his *Ernste Blicke in den Wahn der Modernen Kritik* has found a hearty reception among the more evangelical clergy. He now lectures at that once great stronghold of rationalism, the University of Tübingen, where he attracts considerable attention. One of his most ardent admirers and supporters is Pastor Rupprecht. It is a fact full of significance that the writings of these ultra-conservative theologians are coming more and more to the front and are being freely discussed, not only by the theological press of America and England, but also in the critical magazines of more radical Germany.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

A QUADRENNIUM OF METHODIST FOREIGN MISSIONS.

THE comparative growth of missions as shown by statistical tables is not always exact. The figures themselves are too liable to be imperfectly collected, and uniformity in tabulation is well-nigh impossible. In some instances great influences pervade society that are wanting in others; and in some cases influences are exerted a long time, and steadily, before they crystallize in the hands of statisticians, while they are far more immediate in their precipitation in other instances. Some would say that the Methodist missions in China and India illustrate these two forms of action. In China the missionaries have been slow to admit as communicants persons who in grade of information and disposition are quite similar to those admitted freely in India, and India itself illustrates the two states. Prior to 1884 a great preparatory period was experienced, which has resulted in a steady advance of ratios within the past ten years, until, of the aggregate of a little less than one hundred and fifty thousand members and probationers (147,000) on the foreign field, toward one half (67,500) are tabulated in India. China records about one fourth (16,481) as many as India. The latter country does not, however, seem to be acting with undue haste, for it records a much larger number of "adherents" than the total of its members and probationers, while China enumerates about one half as many "adherents" as members and probationers. Thus it is that the conditions of different lands cannot be paralleled, and hence we repeat that comparative statistics do not show at any one period the precise conditions and relative growth. Nor can anyone say at what hour the brethren in China may be obliged to follow the more restrictive and repressive policy; nor can he predict the effect, when once the magnitude of the movement shall influence thousands now hesitating to attach themselves to small communities, but willing to join a movement large enough to exercise a general magnetism, and shall provide a community numerically sufficient to be self-protective.

It is impossible to pursue this analysis of the several foreign missions of the Church in detail. The Scandinavian missions, within round numbers say twenty-five thousand, and the Germany and Switzerland missions, with say twenty thousand, tempt a comparison of conditions and results. While they both contend with limitations of the civil law and State Churches, nevertheless the conditions on the whole have been more favorable for success in north Europe than in central Europe.

Turning from these comparisons, there is still a more comprehensive and equally encouraging feature of our foreign fields as a whole if they be compared with themselves four years ago. The increase in American missionaries has been but very small, only fifteen more being enumerated than four years ago. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has in-

creased its American force about one third. The native ordained preachers have increased fifty per cent, and the unordained preachers over forty per cent. We have in the foreign field fifty-six thousand plus more Methodist members and probationers than at the last General Conference, so that now the General Conference faces the responsibility of considering the needs of nearly a hundred and fifty thousand communicants outside the United States and Territories, and an equally large community affiliated with these churches, but not yet enrolled as communicants; of over forty thousand pupils in school training, and over a hundred and fifty thousand pupils receiving religious education in their foreign Sabbath schools. These foreign churches have increased their "self-support" contributions sixty per cent within four years, and have raised for other Church purposes over a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Thus a hundred and fifty thousand communicants, composed in large part of people so poor that the home churches cannot comprehend the self-denial involved, have roundly contributed a dollar a member to their pastors and a dollar a member for Church property, besides a very creditable average *per capita* for the formal "benevolent collections" of connectional Methodism.

Surely these foreign fields, judged by these statistical summaries, which, where not exact, are approximately so, present a very creditable showing, and no part of the whole range of topics claiming the attention of the General Conference requires more thoughtful, prayerful, and statesmanlike consideration than the interests of these widely ramifying missions of the Church.

THE GERMAN WORK IN THE UNITED STATES.

One almost necessarily sympathizes with the German element in Protestantism in this country as regards several essential difficulties which are inherent in its environment. A large part of the German population coming from Europe to this country has not been trained in what in Germany is known as the "evangelical" sects. They consequently arrive in America with the religious affinities of the State Church, if, indeed, it be not with antireligious prejudice. If cultivated, they are probably largely of infidel tendency; if illiterate, they are strongly tinctured with socialism. What religion they recognize is a mild sacramentarianism, resting in the baptism of children, the occasional participation in the Lord's Supper, and the services of a minister at marriages and funerals.

We have before us an able document, probably of German authorship, which sets forth the limited facilities for work among this class of our worthy citizens, and among others the meagerness of German literature available for evangelistic purposes. Tracts are few, and more costly than those in English, even a German Testament costing more than one in English, while literature imported from Germany rarely suits the needs of the case. Added to this is the German prejudice against an "evangelical," as one of the "sects" which he considers to be apostatized and which would influence him to abandon the faith of his fathers. National assimilation works both for and against the evangelical effort. In the

first place, outside the Churches it goes on steadily, but very slowly; inside, the nationalization process moves rapidly, but results in weakening the Churches themselves by the steady flow from the German to the English-speaking organizations, especially in the younger and more vigorous accessions to the Church communion. It is difficult to estimate the full results of the labor of the German Churches in consequence of this transfer; while of course the growth and momentum among communicants in the German Churches is materially limited.

We are not apologizing for the German Protestant Churches. The very reverse is compelled, by the success achieved in the face of these obstacles. The German Methodist Episcopal churches in the German Conferences alone, by no means all of German Methodism, in 1895, tabulated 61,061 communicants, 738 traveling preachers, $4,128,810 of Church property, 57,543 Sunday school scholars, and a missionary collection of $37,312—a vast growth from the beginning under one lone missionary sixty years before.

It must not be imagined that the Methodist Episcopal Church is the only one making impression on the German population. In a little over fifty years the German Baptists in America have grown to a membership of just 20,000, spread over 30 States and Territories and provinces; and in 1894 their 219 churches reported no less than 1,753 as the residuum after the transfer of many to their English-speaking churches. The noble giving for Church purposes observable in the German Methodist Episcopal Church seems also to mark this thrifty, economical, and benevolent part of the Baptist Church; for the *Year Book* of the denomination shows the German Baptists to have averaged for current expenses during three years $5.64 *per capita*, and for missions $1.01 *per capita*. These figures show what the German Baptists themselves give, not what is given to them. The Methodist Episcopal German members and probationers enrolled in the summary of domestic missions of the Missionary Society gave for all purposes last year a fraction over $8 *per capita*. The missionary work among the Germans in America is not the only part of our great domestic missionary labor; but it stands out prominently because of the nearly fifteen million immigrants from 1821 to 1892 nearly one third were Germans. The Scandinavian mission churches reporting directly to the Missionary Society as domestic missions show about $6 *per capita* contributed for all Church purposes, including, as before, benevolent contributions. No part of the Missionary Society's expenditure yields more certain and substantial returns than that applied to these populations. In the pamphlet already alluded to the German writer says: "To one who looks beyond the nearest range it is very doubtful if it would really serve the welfare of this country to stop immigration. Is the American stock so fertile that it will people this continent alone? Is the American youth so prone to manual labor that he will plow in the plains and delve in the mountains alone, and yet meet the world's competition? . . . Are they sure that inbreeding is the best way to keep up the national strength? Bismarck says that no nations have ever played a great part in history except those of

mixed stock." The writer also pertinently asks, "What are Christian men going to do with a host of people who know English so imperfectly that an English Gospel is practically no Gospel to them?"

THE AMERICAN BOARD MISSION IN TURKEY.

THE Christian world has been stirred to sympathy with one of the great missionary societies of the United States—the American Board—in the disasters which have overtaken a large part of its work in the Turkish empire through the recent Armenian massacres. The board has in the course, of many years invested some six million dollars in this mission, and of late years has appropriated annually a quarter of a million of dollars to sustain and operate the "plant," which was worth at the time of the recent outbreak a million and a half dollars. The mission has been one of the most efficient of modern days. Its missionaries have been of the very highest, easily ranking among the foremost men of the times in scholarship, management, and exemplary Christian living. Any State might be proud of such ambassadors in any foreign country.

There seems little room for doubt that the very success of the missions of the American Board has largely furnished the temptation to the Turkish government to assault the populations among which the board has been specially operating. While they studiously avoid all political complications and inculcate loyalty to the government, the missionaries aim to develop a type of character and to organize a community which expresses a civilization essentially unlike that which Mohammedanism has ever produced or can produce. When, therefore, this community had become a powerful factor in the land, and was daily growing more intelligent as to its rights and increasingly likely to assert them—and when the Turk knew that all Christian sects, especially Protestants, were steadily undermining and would ultimately overthrow the Mohammedan power of the empire—the government readily appreciated that the struggle for ascendency, and possibly for existence, was upon the present administration of Hamid II. Every instinct of religion and selfishness thus compels them to the course they have followed.

It is under this inspiration that the Turkish authorities are deliberately antagonizing Protestant interests, regardless of all treaties, have organized and directed massacres, and have planned the violent robbery of a community whose thrift is the natural product of this new civilization. The American Board mission stations have, in a dozen instances, been the theater of the bloodiest demonstrations against Christians. In most of the twenty cities and towns occupied by their missionaries from America, as well as in some three hundred other centers of evangelistic and educational activity, their success is seriously impaired, if not wholly blotted out. While the secular press teems with statements of the political situation it is well that Christian people of all denominations give prayerful sympathy to such a great missionary organization as the honorable American Board in the threatened destruction of its greatest mission.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Erich Haupt. The perpetual stream of thought seldom fails to bring with it studies of eschatology, that most fascinating yet most fruitless branch of theology. Haupt, in a recent work on *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synoptischen Evanglien* (The Eschatological Utterances of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels), published at Berlin (Reuther und Reichard, 1895), spends a large part of his strength in the effort to show that those utterances are not to be taken literally. Eating and drinking and sitting at meat in the kingdom of God is only an expression for fellowship with God brought to completion. Speaking of the words in Matt. xxvi, 64, where Jesus says to the high priest, "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven," he declares that we cannot think of a physical seeing, since neither any of the Sanhedrists nor any other Jew ever saw Christ bodily as the risen one. Nor can the words mean that at the Parusia they would see him, since in that coming event Jesus is never represented as sitting in heaven but as approaching the earth. Hence, the seeing spoken of can only refer to a spiritual vision of Jesus; in other words, they would experience his heavenly kingdom. So also Haupt teaches that the coming of the Son of man cannot be understood of the local approach of Christ to the physical earth, for in Matt. xxiv, 29, it is taught that just before the coming of the Son of man the sun shall "be darkened, and the moon shall not give forth her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken." Hence, the physical universe having passed away, Christ cannot come to our physical, local earth. All this is not designed by Haupt to cast doubt on the reality of the events described, but to show that they must not be understood in a bald, literal sense. That the language of Jesus, as that of the Bible throughout, is often figurative, even where it could be interpreted literally, is evident; and we have a conspicuous instance of it in the second chapter of Acts, where Peter says that the scenes of Pentecost were the fulfillment of the prophecy of Joel, that, with the pouring out of the Spirit, there should be "wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood and fire, and vapor of smoke," the sun being "turned into darkness, and the moon into blood." But, while it is possible that the utterances of Jesus have been too sensuously conceived, it is exceedingly difficult for us to find any sure method of interpretation which would bring us any nearer the truth than the literal brings us.

Johannes Weiss. Side by side with the views of Haupt as to the figurative interpretation of the words of Jesus concerning eschatological subjects it may be well to place those of Weiss relative to the manner in

which the figures of the New Testament are to be interpreted in general. While he admits that these metaphors are not to be taken literally at all, he thinks it is different with another class of figures employed by our Lord. For example, he says that when the words "flesh and blood" are used the concrete human being is meant; it is an expression which is designed to make the idea behind it particularly clear to the understanding. In the figures employed by Jesus he thinks our Lord showed a preference for illustration by extreme cases. For example, it is declared that faith can remove mountains. This, Weiss thinks, is not so much figurative as it is the mention of the extremest possibility of faith. He takes the command of Jesus to pray in our closets, not as meaning secret prayer, but as signifying that in order to pray in secret we should be willing to have a secret place where we can lock ourselves in. Some directions he would hold to be impossible, when taken in a literal sense, and hence he distinguishes between such instances as these and those which lie within the limits of possibility. For example, the command to turn the other cheek when we are smitten is possible to us, and therefore may not be taken figuratively. Upon occasion Jesus would require us to fulfill it literally. When he spoke of our tearing out the right eye and cutting off the right hand he meant to give expression to the most extreme requirements of his law. Weiss lays it down as a rule that when the thing described is actually possible or thinkable then the language of Jesus is to be taken literally, and says it is to be understood figuratively only when, in the nature of the case, the words cannot be literally taken. This whole subject is one which should be carefully studied. It has never received a tithe of the attention it has deserved. Most readers of the Bible never even stop to think about it. In order to solve the problems involved it will be necessary to take up the entire body of the New Testament writings, and study them, first with the aid of exact rhetorical analysis, to discover what is figurative and what literal in form. Then the question should be raised as to those words which, though figurative from the standpoint of rhetoric, are intended to convey a literal meaning. For many words which are figurative in form are so modified from their etymological significance as to have been literalized. The word "dilapidated" may be taken as an example, although even here there is an aroma of its tropical significance remaining. It will also be necessary to note words which are used both literally and figuratively. Then, with a careful definition and classification of figures of speech, progress in interpretation would be possible.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Der neutestamentliche Schriftcanon und Clemens von Alexandrien" The Canon of the New Testament and Clement of Alexandria). P. Dausch. Freiburg, i. B. Herder, 1894. The Roman Catholic writer of this book expresses the desire that his treatise may inspire other Romanists to strive after the fulfillment of the desire uttered by "our holy

father," Leo XIII, that the extreme criticism of the Bible may be met by a sober criticism. Dausch then takes under consideration the task, the method, the sources, and the literature. This is followed by a discussion of the relations of Clement of Alexandria to the individual documents of the New Testament—the gospels (canonical and uncanonical), the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline letters and Hebrews, the letters of Peter, the letters of Jude and James, the letters of John, the Apocalypse of John and of Peter, together with the writings of the Shepherd of Hermas. In the second part Dausch takes up the view which Clement held of the character of the New Testament canon. He raises five questions: (1) Was Clement acquainted with a list of New Testament writings? (2) Was he acquainted with a collection of New Testament writings? (3) Did he know of any authority attributed to the New Testament writings? (4) Did he know of any specific authority attributed to the New Testament writings? (5) Did he recognize the exclusive authority of the Scriptures? To all these questions Dausch gives a negative answer. He sums up his conclusions as follows: (1) Clement used and reverenced a large number of Christian and heathen writings to which he gave a certain authority and inspiration. (2) He distinguished between churchly and nonchurchly literature. (3) He knew no well-defined collection of Christian churchly literature, nor was the distinction sharp between Christian and other writings. (4) He knew no exclusive authority for the Scriptures. (5) He uses the epithets "Old" and "New Testament," but without clearly designating his meaning. (6) There was a collection of writings, but not a closed canon. (7) He held to no specific apostolic or prophetic principle of canonicity. (8) He spoke in essentially the same terms of the Old and New Testament. (9) Among recognized groups are the "gospels" and the "apostles." (10) By "apostolic" he generally meant "Pauline." (11) He knew of evangelical truth outside of the gospels. (12) He recognized a formal, but not an authoritative, difference between the Old and New Testament. (13) He knew fourteen Pauline letters, and ascribed the Hebrews to Paul. (14) He knew of the Acts by Luke, and the Apocalypse by John, but did not distinguish sharply between these documents and other old Christian literature. (15) Among the Catholic epistles he knew only 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and Jude. (16) In point of respect he held the letter of Barnabas, the first letter of Clement, and the teaching of the apostles almost as high as the canonical New Testament documents. In conclusion, Dausch claims that the strong individuality of Clement forbids that he should be taken as representative of his time, and that neither from the beginning, nor at the year 200 A. D., was there an apostolic collection of writings for the purpose of consolidating the then originating Catholic Church.

De joodsche achterground van den Brief aan de Romeinen (The Jewish Background of the Epistle to the Romans). By J. A. C. Van

Leeuwen. Utrecht, Breijer, 1894. Van Manen, the principal Dutch exponent of the idea that Romans in its present form is not the work of Paul, and could not possibly have been written by a Jew, but is a Gnostic revision and enlargement of a smaller work by Paul, furnishes the suggestion which has led to the writing of this work, which was originally a "doctor-dissertation." Contrary to the view of Van Manen, Van Leeuwen, another Dutchman, maintains the impossibility of the Greek origin of Romans in its present form. Taking up the direct utterances of Romans in reference to the Jewish origin of the author, he next considers the judgments of the epistle relative to the heathen and the Jews. In treating of the latter he discusses the significance of the law and the relation of Israel to Christ. Following the older theologians he points out the numerous analogies and parallels both in matter and form, between Romans and the older rabbinic literature. By this the author does not propose to demonstrate the dependence of Paul upon this literature in specific instances, but to show that the mind of the author of Romans proved itself in every part of the epistle saturated with Jewish ideas to such a degree as would be possible only to a born Jew. That he has succeeded no fair-minded reader can doubt. This does not, of course, prove directly that Paul is the author of the epistle in its present form, but it destroys the idea that it could not have been written by Paul. The argument for the Pauline authorship will be conceded by all who believe it to have been written by a Christian Jew. Yet such is the folly of some critics that it is difficult to say what position will be next taken. The Tübingen school did not question the Pauline authorship of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians. Since then every one of these has been challenged, and has had to fight for its life. There are critics who deny the genuineness of every book of the New Testament, and think that with every trustworthy record gone they are in a position to understand Christianity aright. Such criticism gives a bad reputation to criticism of every sort. And in fact the extreme views held in certain ages by critics, from nearly all of which the criticism of the present day has receded, raises in the minds of the thoughtful the question whether after a while the learned world will not swing back to a quiet acceptance of the Bible as our fathers knew it. Even those who find it necessary to deny the genuineness of some of the books of the New Testament would confess that it is far more sober to accept all than to reject the Pauline authorship of Romans and Galatians.

De libris prohibitis commentarii. By Augustinus Arndt, S. J. Regensburg, F. Pustet, 1895. A book by a Jesuit concerning books forbidden to be read by Romanists ought to be authoritative of Roman Catholic belief and practice. It will therefore be well to notice what is forbidden, by whom, and why. In the first part of this work the author undertakes to give every instance of forbidden books which occurred prior to the year 1000. He claims that even in the early Church the Roman see exercised the recognized right to forbid the reading of objection-

able books, and that very early arose the practice of referring dogmatic works to the popes for approbation prior to publication. In the second part the author takes up the punishments inflicted by the Church upon those who violated the prohibition. The object of the prohibition is to prevent the faithful from reading dangerous books and to hold them to obedience, but especially to prevent heretics and other godless men from publishing works of a harmful kind. Hence the prohibition extends to those who would personally be in no danger. But when the prohibition is issued by the Index-Congregation, even at the command of the pope, it is not a papal act, and hence not infallible, although binding on the conscience. Of course all books of such heresiarchs as Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin are forbidden, together with all Protestant translations of the Bible, which are in every case dangerous. Even Roman Catholic Bible translations with notes may not be read by the Romanists without special permission from the bishop upon recommendation of the father confessor or pastor. The reading of books in the mother tongue treating of the distinctions between Romanists and Protestants may be granted with the permission of the pastor. Book dealers may not handle forbidden books. Newspapers which justify the things condemned in the Syllabus of Pius IX are classed as dangerous. The father confessor must determine whether a paper may be read or not. One may receive permission to read books, and yet not be allowed to read forbidden newspapers. Even an innkeeper may not offer forbidden papers to his guests, and may at most furnish them for the value of the advertisements. Perhaps those who have insisted on the freedom which Roman Catholics enjoy will not see how excessively paternal is that system which places even newspaper reading under control of the Church. If Rome had spent half the energy in suppressing the wickedness of her saloon keepers and drunkards which she has exerted in the vain effort to hinder freedom of thought and the spread of intelligence, she might have accomplished something valuable in the world.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

An Austrian Retrograde Political Movement. The liberal revolution in Hungary has produced a clerical reaction which threatens harm to the religious liberty of Austria. In Hungary there is perfect religious freedom, brought about by the separation of Church and State. Romanists and Protestants, Jews and Christians, are alike free before the law to worship God as they will. The recent victory of the anti-Semitic party in Vienna is likely to produce exactly the opposite condition in Austria. The mayor of Vienna is an anti-Semite, and so are more than two thirds of the members of the city council. The party propose to allow no Jew to hold public office; to prevent the making of any contract by the government with Jews, and if possible to annul all governmental contracts with Jews now in force. They also propose to exclude all Jewish children from the public schools. But the party is almost as anti-Protestant as anti-Semitic.

its program is to exclude all Protestant teachers from the public schools, and to restore the schools to the Roman Catholic party. It is supposed that this part of the plans of the anti-Semitics is inspired from Rome.

A New Roman Catholic Propaganda in Germany. If the Roman Catholics do not recover their power in Germany it will not be for lack of effort. By some means they have gotten lists of names and addresses of students of the gymnasia and seminaries, and, after the manner of the publishers of impure literature, they are sending to their pupils, under sealed covers, copies of tracts against Protestantism, announcing at the same time that each booklet can be had for about two cents. Special attention is called in an accompanying list of these publications, ninety-two in number, to such tracts as "Luther and Marriage," "The Blessings of the Reformation," and "Protestant Historical Lies." This is a kind of warfare which can only degrade those who engage in it. But the fact that for years the Roman Catholic Church has been compelled to resort to this and similar methods shows the desperation into which they have fallen. Yet there are people so blind to the real situation as to suppose that Roman Catholicism is only one of several equally justifiable forms of Christianity.

A Missionary Countess. The Countess Schimmelmann carries on a peculiar mission work among the laborers and fishermen of the Danish coast. At one time she lived in all the splendor of court life, but she has said farewell to the world, because it could not afford her happiness, and has consecrated herself to this missionary work among the lowliest of her people. She has purchased a pleasure boat which once belonged to Prince Waldemar, and has transformed it to suit her purposes. There is a crew of seven men. The forepart of the ship is covered with a tent, in which the Countess assembles her hearers and speaks to them. She appears dressed in a plain black garb and stands behind a small table. She there relates the circumstances of her court life, shows its hollowness and inability to bring happiness, and then explains her purpose to labor for the elevation of her hearers, and shows them how impossible it is for external circumstances to satisfy. She closes the meeting with prayer for all the unfortunate of earth. The men hear her with great attention, bid her a grateful good-bye, and quietly depart. Others come, and the scene is repeated. As many as five such meetings are held daily in some places.

Baptists of Sweden and Finland. At the beginning of the year 1895 the number in Sweden was 37,601. Twelve years ago the start was made in Finland. Rev. C. Jameson fought hard for freedom of conscience and faith. Twenty-one times he was brought by the priests before the courts, although not convicted a single time. Now Finland has 28 churches and about 1,600 members, also a preachers' seminary, and a monthly paper called the *Post*. The Baptist Missionary Society of America supports the work.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

INSPIRING are the examples of many of the pioneer clergy of the United States. The names and the deeds of some of these venerable worthies are recalled by President Charles J. Little, LL.D., in the *Chautauquan* for March, as he writes of "The American Pulpit." The "lay elder Brewster" comes early in the list, "who marched to church between Governor Bradford and Miles Standish, followed by the Pilgrims three abreast, each with a musket on his shoulder." The chaplain of the company which founded Jamestown was Robert Hunt, "'an honest, religious, courageous divine,' and the mainstay of the colony. He wore out a very noble life in words and deeds of helpfulness, leaving behind him an example not easily followed by the secondhand and damaged clergymen sent out quite frequently from England—'men that wore black coats and could babble in a pulpit or roar in a tavern.'" Other preachers of righteousness in the South were Garden, for thirty years rector at St. Philip's, Charleston; Clement Hall, of North Carolina, who "wrought wonders in his journey of fourteen thousand miles;" and the Wesleys and Whitefield. In New England are recalled Dr. Fuller, "the godly physician," who ministered to the Salem Colony in 1629; Hooker, Roger Williams, and John Harvard; John Eliot, who "established 'praying towns' for the Indians and translated the Bible into the Indian tongue;" the zealous and great Jonathan Edwards; and Eleazar Wheelock, who "opened his own home for an Indian school, which developed afterwards into Dartmouth College." The frontier preacher who followed emigration across the Alleghanies; the loyal clergy of the Revolution; and the preachers of different denominations who made up the list in "the golden age of the American pulpit," between 1784 and 1868, next pass in quick review. From this enumeration of the sainted workmen of the Church the transition to the obligations of the present pulpit in America is natural. "The real business of the preacher is with the other world." Men must be made "keenly alive" to the invisible. "That which gave even Theodore Parker his tremendous influence as a prophet of righteousness was his living consciousness of God and immortality. Men nowadays do not care for creeds, but they do care for faith; they ask eagerly, as Dr. Holmes so touchingly describes, 'Have you any news?' The American pulpit stands for news—good news—news from the invisible world."

THE *Study* is a quarterly published by the faculty of the Iliff School of Theology, University of Denver, and edited by Bishop Warren. The March number (Vol. i, No. 1) contains valuable matter under the following heads: "Spiritual Dynamics," "Notes," "Great Texts," etc.; "With Books." "The School of the Prophets," "Our Own School." The quarterly takes the place of *Studies in the English Bible* which was issued from the same

source for three years. It is offered far below cost, at twenty-five cents a year, in order to put it within reach of a host of preachers who may need its matter and profit by its stimulus. Its object is to keep before ministers the idea of continual growth by all sorts of culture, especially spiritual, thus helping to push the dead line up to where it was in the case of John Wesley at eighty-eight years of age, and of John Boanerges at nearly one hundred. The first article points out the immense resources of power waiting to be appropriated by us for the Lord's work. "There is power of every kind everywhere in plenty. All the Niagaras and Mississippis have run to waste since they began to thunder and flow. Greater power is in the wind everywhere. One can rake up enough electricity to turn all the wheels of a great city whenever he chooses to start his rake. The sky is full of Pentecosts. Power enough, but how shall we belt on? By fasting and prayer, and by willing to do the will of God. We have so much haste that we do not tarry at Jerusalem for fullness of power. We are told to pray without ceasing, and that there are kinds of devils that go not out except at the command of those who fast and pray." The aim of the paper is to make the man of God bold to undertake great things for God—conversions, purifications, missionary enlargements, business enterprises, church buildings—undertakings which he knows to be too great for himself, but which may be accomplished because there is abundance of power for spiritual victories as marvelous as any material triumphs wrought by steam and electricity. The luminous and resonant, virile and sinewy style makes it easy to know who wrote the article. We call attention to the plan operated by the Iliff School of Theology for circulating the best books among ministers not in attendance. One book a month from this circulating library is sent to each member of the circle. Any Methodist Episcopal minister in full connection, between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast, whose name appears in the official minutes, may join this circle. For $2 a year he will receive one book a month from the following list in the order given. Having kept the book one month, he must pay postage on it to the next number of the circle. The books in this series would cost him $22.80 if he bought them. 1. *The Chief End of Revelation*, Bruce. 2. *The Permanent Elements of Religion*, Bishop Carpenter. 3. *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, Fairbairn. 4. *The Johannine Theology*, George B. Stevens. 5. *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, Bruce. 6. *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, A Study of Modern Theology in the Light of its History, Allen. 7. *Bernard Clairvaux*, A Study of the Religious Life of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, Storrs. 8. *Mexico in Transition*, Transition from Jesuitism to Protestantism, Butler. 9. *Miracles of Modern Missions*, Pierson. 10. *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, Sociological, Small and Vincent. 11. *The Philosophy of Preaching*, Behrends. 12. *English Style in Public Discourse*, Phelps. For $1 and postage he will receive in order the second series (regular price, $15). 1. *Christ Enthroned in the Industrial World*, Charles Roads. 2. *The Man of Galilee*, Bishop Haygood. 3. *Imago Christi*, James Stalker. 4. *The Gospel of Common Sense*, Charles F. Deems. 5. *Social Christianity*, Hugh Price Hughes. 6. *Ruling Ideas*

of the Present Age, Washington Gladden. 7. *A Layman's Study of the English Bible*, Francis Bowen. 8. *The Story of the Psalms*, Henry Van Dyke. 9. *Half-Hours with Saint Paul*, Daniel Steele. 10. *The Christless Nations*, Bishop Thoburn. 11. *Union with God*, J. Rendel Harris. 12. *The Witnesses to Immortality*, George A. Gordon. For $1 and postage he will receive in order, one each month, the third series (price, $15). 1. *Introduction to Browning*, Hiram Corson, with thirty-three poems. 2. *The Poetry of Tennyson*, Henry Van Dyke. 3. *Mind and Art of Shakespeare*, Edward Dowden. 4. *Poets of America*, Edmund C. Stedman. 5. *Essays and Addresses*, Phillips Brooks. 6. *My Study-Windows*, James Russell Lowell. 7. *Recollections of Eminent Men*, Edwin P. Whipple. 8. *Discourses in America*, Matthew Arnold. 9. *Sesame and Lilies*, John Ruskin. 10. *Literary and Social Essays*, George William Curtis. 11. *Fresh Fields*, John Burroughs. 12. *Quest and Vision*, Essays in Life and Literature, W. J. Dawson. Name and post office address should be sent to Rev. W. F. Steele, University Park, Colorado. The money will be called for when each circle of twelve is completed.

In the *New World* for March Thomas Wentworth Higginson writes an appreciative sketch of the late "Octavius Brooks Frothingham." As to his "whole make-up" the memoirist declares him to have been a "high-bred radical." His public oratory marked him as "the last of the Everett school;" his "most daring iconoclastic thoughts were presented with a frankness which disarmed;" his manner "was always self-controlled, symmetrical, and graceful." He had also the courage of his own convictions. "He was not only not afraid to differ from others, he cheerfully differed from himself when new light dawned, although the clearness and vigor of his mind rarely made this necessary." The following article, by John E. Russell, is entitled "Miracles and Christian Faith." The conclusion reached by the writer is that miracles "have no necessary or inseparable connection with religious faith; that faith can be attained without the evidence of miracles and can be consistently held if, for any reasons, the believer is led to doubt the historical reality of such events." In an able and discriminating paper J. W. Chadwick makes acknowledgment to the many-sidedness of "Thomas Henry Huxley"—and, passing over his career as a geologist, authropologist, biologist, philosopher, and man of letters, aims to "duly emphasize his relation to ethical and religious problems, and his contribution to our theological development." C. De Harlez writes from the University of Louvain, Belgium, of "The Religion of the Manchu Tartars." Certain "Tendencies in Penology" are discussed by Samuel J. Barrows, who establishes his positions by allusions to the session of the Fifth International Prison Congress, and points out various methods which are developing in the treatment of crime. Under the title of "Paul's Doctrine of the Atonement," C. C. Everett briefly considers the interpretations of Professors Bruce and Briggs, and follows with his own views of the apostle's teaching, wholly giving up "any depend-

once upon the traditional theory which has claimed for itself the authority of Paul." John Watson next asks, in "Leibnitz and Protestant Theology," the extent to which the philosopher's "conception of God and his relation to the world can be accepted." The concluding article, by C. H. Toy, on "The Preprophetic Religion of Israel," discusses the worship of the period between Moses and Elijah, with particular reference to "the tenacity with which the Israelites held to Yahweh as the national deity."

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* has: 1. "The Divine Origin of the Religion of the Bible," by James Monroe, LL.D.; 2. "The Builders of the Second Temple," by W. R. Betteridge; 3. "Studies in Christology, IX," by F. H. Foster, D.D.; 4. "Professor Moore's Commentary on the Book of Judges;" 5. "What the Working Classes Owe to Christianity," by G. F. Greene; 6. "The Demand for More Money," by E. W. Bemis, Ph.D.; 7. "Dr. George A. Gordon's Reconstruction of Christian Theology," by A. H. Plumb, D.D.——In the *Chautauquan* for April Professor J. A. Woodburn, Ph.D., writes of "The Tariff in Legislation;" Professor J. W. Jenks, Ph.D., of "Political Party Machinery in the United States;" and Professor W. A. Elliott of "The New Olympic Games." Mary Proctor continues "A Romance of the Stars," and Rev. S. Parkes Cadman furnishes an attractive illustrated article on "Military Bands of Europe."——The *North American* for April opens with an article by David L. Wells, LL.D., on "Great Britain and the United States: Their True Relations;" Seaton Munroe furnishes valuable reminiscences of the great tragedy of American history in his "Recollections of Lincoln's Assassination;" Senator Raines shows the merits of "The Raines Liquor-Tax Law," to which he has given his sponsorship; Admiral A. H. Markham discusses "The North Polar Problem;" and such political leaders in New York as T. C. Platt, Chauncey M. Depew, Warner Miller, Edward Lauterbach, and C. W. Hackett contribute a symposium on "Governor Morton as a Presidential Candidate."——The *New Church Review* for April opens with a paper on "The Incarnation and Evolution," by J. K. Smyth. Its succeeding articles are: "Spectrum Analysis," by L. C. Hoeck; "The Sermon on the Mount," by W. H. Mayhew; "Source of the Christ in Ancient Myths," by E. D. Daniels; "The New Churchman in the World," by H. Clinton Hay; "The Reformation and Protestantism," by James Reed; "The Value of Butler's Analogy," by T. F. Wright; and "A Significant Document of 1729," by P. B. Cabell.——*Christian Literature* for April has: "Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy, II." by B. P. Warfield; "The Rationale of the Early Persecutions;" "Bishop Butler and his Censors," by W. E. Gladstone; "Cardinal Manning and the Catholic Revival, I," by A. M. Fairbairn; "The Religion of Abraham Lincoln;" "The Salvation Army Troubles;" "The Rev. Talbot Wilson Chambers, S.T.D., LL.D.;" and "Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick," by L. W. Bacon.——The April number of the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* has a biographical notice of the late Bishop Wayman, in which it ranks him as "one of the most remarkable men in the history of African Methodism."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The World and the Wrestlers. Personality and Responsibility. By HUGH MILLER THOMPSON. 12mo, pp. 142. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, $1.

This book, by the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi, contains the Bohlen Lectures for 1895, delivered in Philadelphia. A fund of ten thousand dollars from the estate of John Bohlen supports this annual lectureship. Bishop Thompson is evidently much sought as a lecturer, for in 1885 he delivered the Bedell Lectures, published under the title of "The World and the Logos;" in 1888, the Paddock Lectures, printed under the title of "The World and the Kingdom;" and, in 1890, the Baldwin Lectures, at Ann Arbor, Mich., issued under the title of "The World and the Man." The four lectures in this little volume are upon The Personality of Man, The Personality of God, The Responsibility of God, and The Responsibility of Man. These lectures would be more effective when delivered to a popular audience by a good speaker than when read calmly and critically in a book. They do not bear comparison with Illingsworth's Bampton Lectures on the same subject. The first two lectures are somewhat like sermons on Jacob's wrestling with his great antagonist. In the first is this blow at the so-called "higher critics:" "A critic who would spend his time on minute examination of the letters and words of Shakespeare's dramas, and who might even finally reach the conclusion that former editors were all wrong in the arrangement of the dramas, and that 'Hamlet' was written before 'Timon,' and that 'Rare Ben Jonson' redacted 'King Lear'—that, indeed, Shakespeare did not write 'Lear,' 'Macbeth,' or 'The Tempest' at all, but another man of the same name did—might be a very useful man, and, in his own opinion, imagine he had done the world a service; but, just as a bit of common sense and general usefulness, we would hardly call him a high critic, much less a 'higher' critic, than the man who taught all readers of the mass of literature we call 'Shakespeare' to find subtler meanings, deeper philosophies, profounder insight into man and nature, and the nature of the Lord of them both, than they had ever before seen or even suspected. It abides with me as one of the queer, topsy-turvy puzzles that crop up outside the country of the Sphinx that the term 'higher criticism' should have been arrogated for themselves and conceded by others to gentlemen whose business upon a body of ancient literature begins and ends with criticising its words and letters and deriving thence its supposed dates and origins, and who have never set themselves by one flash of intelligence to deal with its meaning and purpose! And this literature, mind, the unspeakably most influential, formative, commanding, and controlling literature known since time began! I concede the usefulness of the alphabet critics, but why call them 'higher critics?'

Thomas à Kempis was a higher critic than all of them put together." In the second lecture is more on the same subject: "There is a wonderful thing extant for some years now, born in Germany—in whose theological schools Christ and his Gospel are still on trial, as if Pilate's court were a perpetually sitting tribunal—and imported, free from tariff or duty, into England and America, called by somebody—for what reason I know not—'the higher criticism.' One might ask, if this be higher criticism, What *is* lower criticism, and what the *very lowest* at last? Well, it is all pure guesswork, let me say at once, and in its most characteristic development may be understood from a learned book published in this country, called *The Shakespeare Cipher*, by a very able man; and also by a new and better *Shakespeare Cipher*, published by a learned doctor of medicine to show that the whole mass of poetry we call Shakespeare was written by Francis Bacon to abuse Queen Elizabeth, and send her down branded to all time, because she refused to acknowledge him, Francis Bacon, as her son by a secret marriage with his father when she was only the princess, the 'Lady Elizabeth.' In these two cases the Shakespearean critics know the language in which the book was written. It is their mother tongue. It was written three centuries ago. In the other case there is not a man living who could pronounce a speech in Hebrew so as to be understood by Isaiah or Daniel (supposing there ever was an Isaiah or a Daniel!). It is a sad thing to be idle, especially in a land where there are only books and pipes and beer, and where a paternal government presides over a man's birth, education, religion, occupation, marriage, sickness, death, and finally his tombstone. Turn him loose with the conception that all things—government, social order, politics, science, and the rest—are settled, untouchable even—indeed, everything taken out of the arena of intelligent discussion except Christ and the Bible—and he must necessarily turn critic, and, if he has but little to do, 'higher critic.' The point I am desirous to emphasize is that this criticism, in the necessitudes of its conclusions, requires us to believe that a great many of the ideas, influences, and practices in the Old Testament came from Egypt, Chaldea, and Persia. Of that, happily, you and I are just as able to judge as any critic; for it is not a thing of Hebrew consonants, or masoretic vowels or accents, but of history and common sense." Here is a bit on a different topic, from the third lecture: "One of the two or three most enormously and absurdly rich men in the country—dead now, and enjoying a little rest, I hope—said to me once, 'I envy you.' 'Envy *me?*' I asked. 'Yes; you are a free man, your own master, and doing and saying helpful things to people every day, and I am like a blind horse in a bark mill, tramping the same monotonous path round the safe that contains the deeds and securities.' In the kindness of my heart I offered to relieve him at once of some part of his trouble and bear his burden like a Christian brother, as St. Paul commands us. I knew exactly where *five* millions would found a university, to do enormous good and make his name a blessing forever; where another million would endow ten missionary bishoprics; where two millions would build one creditable cathedral, and

five millions another; and ten millions would be invested so as to relieve our Missionary Committee from the stress and anxiety they suffer; and then five millions more could be soundly invested so as to produce a respectable sum toward the instructing and Christianizing of our seven million negroes. This would not relieve him entirely—indeed, of only a fraction—of his load. He would still have been staggering under a burden which would crush *me*. You may be surprised, but it is nevertheless the fact that he politely but peremptorily declined my kind proposal, and groaned under it till the load crushed him, and left it just as heavy for his son to sweat under till he, too, is dead! I sometimes think that nothing must so bring sorrow and pity to the sorrowful and pitiful heart of God as the sight of men like my friend, who load themselves down with such back-breaking and heart-crushing loads, and obstinately refuse help from heaven or earth! And then the idiocy of it! For they are undergoing all this to escape a possible pain! They are toiling to escape toil. They are doing slaves' work to keep themselves free! And, lo! the end comes, and their lives have had no more outcome and less enjoyment than the lives of their own grooms!" Here is another incident from life: "I was once consulted by a gentleman who was greatly troubled in his mind, almost to the brink of black doubt, because in a change he meant to make in his business he had made it the subject, as he told me, of earnest prayer, and he was clear, after that, that it was God's will that he make the change; and, behold, the change had resulted in the loss of half his fortune! He was very much annoyed about it, even somewhat indignant with God about it! I suggested that the Lord had left him, in all that kind of action, to decide for himself, having given him presumable sense and allowed him a tolerable education and some experience in his special business; and that if I were in his place I would not be angry with the Almighty because he declined to go into the wholesale grocery business with me for money in another part of the country." The Mississippi bishop leaves his readers in no doubt as to his opinion of the Chicago Parliament of Religions: "Some time ago we had in our newest city a thing called a fair—the Columbian Fair. Among the attractions to draw people, and their half dollars, there was, besides the 'Midway Plaisance,' with its alleged Turkish dancing women and alleged Hindu Nautch girls, a show called the 'World's Parliament of Religions.' Hindu yogis, Mohammedan dervishes, Roman Catholic cardinals, Buddhist bonzes from China, and 'mahatmas' (whatever they are) from Arabia, were invited to disport themselves side by side with Presbyterian and Unitarian doctors of divinity, with Mormon elders, and archbishops of the Orient, and show a waiting and eager world which religion of all had the most to say for itself, and was, on the whole, the most picturesque and pretty specimen of religion now existent. Altogether, it was the most astonishing side-show of a remarkable fair, and could have been imagined and attempted only in the freshest and youngest community on earth—a community which has not yet quite found out what itself means, is dimly groping, mostly on all-fours, toward a somewhat indistinct con-

fusion. . . . The hungry children of the East came swarming, with all their rags and all the populations and odors thereof; Chinamen, Javanese, Spanish monks, Buddhists and Brahmans from Hindustan, picturesque and ragged Syrians from Jerusalem, and venerable rabbis from Poland, arm-in-arm with still more long-bearded and unkempt muftis from everywhere *except* Constantinople. . . . Many of us have had experience of these picturesque waifs and strays of the great fair—the flotsam and jetsam of the famous 'Parliament of Religions'—at our back doors, begging for cold victuals and old clothes, and without a solitary grain of profound Eastern psychology or any practical doctrine of reincarnation, an ounce of 'theosophy,' or a spark of 'astral spirit,' concealed about their fragrant persons!" Of a certain Swami, who still lingers and lectures in the cities of our land, the bishop writes: "One of the fragments of this drift professed to be a monk of some sort—Brahman or Buddhist, I know not which—but for the present a peculiar kind of monk, emancipated from all rules that usually govern monks. There are such 'dispensations,' I understand, among all sorts of monks. He could eat with anybody who gave him anything nice to eat, and drink anything nice that was going, and live in general intercourse with us benighted Christians and take no harm, because his ecclesiastical superior in India had dispensed him from his vows for this time and occasion only; or else because, being an 'order' of monkery all by himself, and therefore his own 'superior,' he had just dispensed himself! He was very picturesque. . . . He wore a long woolen skirt down to his heels and a roll of yellow stuff on his head, and people were interested in him on that account to start with. Women especially were interested in him. Women always are profoundly interested in monks. I think they always will be. There is here a psychological question more subtle and more interesting than any like question in Buddhism or Brahmanism. It deserves a book all by itself by some wise and learned man—so I leave it. One lady—cultivated, thoughtful, an American woman of the best type—told me how much she was impressed by this mild-eyed son of the Punjab, and how devoted and pious and spiritual-minded he seemed to be. She told me how he admired the enormous energy and victorious march of this Western civilization. To be sure, our religion was nothing—a thing of yesterday. It could have no influence on the gigantic mind of the Hindu, trained and fed on theosophy and reincarnation, and guided generally by 'mahatmas' and astral spirits—the lofty and spiritual-minded Hindu, who adored Siva and Kâlî and Juggernaut, and who was quite content to be a slave and to make slave's slaves of his women. But we *were* far before the Hindu in some things—our machinery, our steam engines, our electric dynamos, and the like. . . . I reminded my friend that of all human creatures alive the Hindu is the biggest liar (the Syrian always excepted); that he really cannot speak truth save by accident; that all writers who know our Hindu cousins testify with one voice to this, even down to Mr. R. Kipling; and that the higher his caste and the more religious the Hindu is, the more measureless liar he is." And then

the bishop fills four pages with what he thinks ought to be said to Swami and his kind before they are sent home. It is rather more forcible and plain-spoken than anything we have quoted. One has no difficulty in understanding what the author means. Swami himself would understand. Perhaps it would make him feel homesick.

The Theology of the Old Testament. By the Rev. W. H. BENNETT, M.A., Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature, Hackney and New Colleges. 12mo, pp. 218. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

This new book by Professor Bennett, formerly a Cambridge man, but now Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature at Hackney and New Colleges, is not altogether surprising. We have known from Professor Bennett's edition of the Book of Joshua in Haupt's critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and also from his entertaining exposition of the Book of Chronicles in the *Expositor's Bible*, his general critical position. Professor Bennett has given in his adhesion very largely to the positions of a not very conservative school of higher criticism, if, indeed, it be not just to say that his attachment is to a school advanced, if not radical. It is, however, somewhat surprising to find this little treatise of his in a series of books in which the subject of Old Testament Introduction is treated by Professor C. H. H. Wright. It is only another illustration of the impossibility of editing a series of theological books in such a way as to have them all representative of one general point of view. Professor Wright's *Introduction* is a very conservative book; Professor Bennett's *Theology of the Old Testament* is an advanced book. The Preface indicates at once the point of view. It calls attention to a page which immediately follows, in which the history of Israel is divided into sections and the biblical books are assigned to the periods in which they were written. This assignment of the books is made in three columns. The first column contains the books as to which there is substantial agreement as to date. The second column contains the books assigned to periods according to the traditional view, and the third column the same books assigned to periods according to recent critical views. This little table of Professor Bennett's is altogether an interesting document. It shows clearly the great difference between traditional and critical views. Now, the Preface calmly announces that the book follows the arrangement of biblical books according to the third column. After this announcement in the Preface we are prepared for the form and general content of the book. The first chapter is purely introductory. The second chapter gives a sketch of the literary history of Israel under the title of "Israel in History." This chapter may be unhesitatingly commended to the perusal of anyone who would fain know what the school to which Professor Bennett belongs asks the Church to believe as to the age and general character of the Old Testament books. Upon the arrangement adopted in this chapter of the biblical books Professor Bennett's theology is based. The remaining chapters deal with the "Ideal Israel," "Jehovah as the God of Israel," "Israel as the people of Jehovah," "Jehovah and the Israelite," and "God and the Universe." We

might pick out very many passages to illustrate the spirit of the book, as well as its general result. Two passages merely will suffice to make it plain. The first gives Professor Bennett's view concerning the literary activity of Israel at the period of the captivity. He says: "The Jews in Babylon confidently expected to return to Palestine and renew their old national life. Hence they were anxious to retain all extant knowledge of that life, so that the captivity was a period of great literary activity. In addition to original productions, of which we shall speak later on, older documents were combined and reedited. The interruption of local tradition by the exile gave new importance to written history, and, at the same time, the teaching of the prophets had emphasized the religious significance of history. During the captivity the ancient historical documents were combined and edited under the influence of Deuteronomy and the prophets. The ancient narratives of the Patriarchs, the Exodus, and the Conquest were combined with an enlarged edition of Josiah's Deuteronomy and Judges; Samuel and Kings were reedited as a single continuous historical work. Probably the Book of Jeremiah was edited during this period in a form substantially the same as that in which it is now extant." If this be contrasted with the traditional view of the origin of the biblical books it will at once be seen that a great gulf is fixed between these two differing ideas. A second passage gives Professor Bennett's view of the Old Testament representations concerning the moral conditions of accepted sacrifice. We are very grateful to him for the expression of these words: "The prophets and psalmists constantly repudiate the idea that sacrifices have any value apart from true moral and spiritual life. The language of the prophets does not mean that they denounced such observances; but whereas popular superstition regarded sacrifice as the most important of divine requirements, and as efficacious apart from the life and character of the offerer, the prophets assigned to sacrifice an entirely subordinate place in the religious life." Any man who has followed the history of criticism from Wellhausen's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* will see at once that Professor Bennett does not follow in this either Wellhausen or Wellhausen's immediate successors, and that the defense of the prophets by conservative schools has compelled him, and others, to give up the formerly held position that the prophets knew nothing about the sacrifices of the law. The temper of Professor Bennett's book is uniformly good. We cannot absolutely commend it to those who have not made themselves previously familiar with other views of the development of the theology of the Old Testament. It is, nevertheless, an admirable introduction to one form of recognized critical views.

The Great Meaning of Metanoia. An Undeveloped Chapter in the Life and Teaching of Christ. A new edition, with a Supplementary Essay. By TREADWELL WALDEN. 12mo, pp. xx, 126. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, $1.

Mr. Walden's contention in these essays is for a truer translation into English of the Greek New Testament words, *μετάνοια, μετανοεῖν*, rendered by penitance and to repent in both the Authorized and Revised Versions.

He clearly demonstrates—perhaps more clearly than has hitherto been done—the poverty of the English equivalents of these truly epoch-marking terms. Biblical scholars have long endeavored to remedy the evil, and it was greatly hoped that the revisers would effect at least a partial cure, but not even in the margin have they left a sign. In view of this the Protestant world has a real grievance, and can only comfort itself "with the thought that the new version is not a finality, but only tentative to that which shall yet meet the brave demand of the present age." Great embarrassment is found in the fact that our tongue contains no single synonym of either the Greek noun or verb. If the author could have been so happy as to have discovered even a perfect paraphrase of the New Testament idea he would have made multitudes of debtors. From the title of his book, as well as from his treatment of the subject—though he nowhere plainly says as much—we infer that he would solve the difficulty by making over bodily the Greek noun into English. This both De Quincey and Matthew Arnold, if our author quotes them exactly, appear to have already done. The former says (see page 36): "I understand by metanoia a revolution of thought—a great intellectual change—in accepting a new center for all moral truth from Christ;" and the latter (see page 93): "Of metanoia, as Jesus used the word, the lamenting one's sins was a small part; the main part was something far more active and fruitful—the setting up an immense new inward movement for obtaining the rule of life. And metanoia, accordingly, is a change of the inner man." As definitions of the scriptural idea it will be seen that the above are complementary the one to the other, and that, taken together, they form a practically complete statement of the doctrine of regeneration. Mr. Walden's book is a valuable contribution to the right dividing of the word, and we heartily commend it in the words of Bishop Phillips Brooks: "It is full of inspiration. It makes one think of Christian faith as positive and constructive, and not merely destructive and remedial. It makes the work of Christ seem worthy of Christ."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Letters and Verses of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D. Between the years 1829 and 1881. Edited by ROWLAND E. PROTHERO, M.A. 8vo, pp. vii, 454. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $5.

This sumptuous volume, with uncut leaves and stiff, thick paper, shows from youth to age the quality of Stanley's mind. Born to education and refinement, the son of the Bishop of Norwich, he took on culture with avidity and with aptitude, as if by instinct. The fiber of his nature was delicate, his pursuits serious, his tastes elevated, his enthusiasms noble. Intellectual life was so easy to him that, while his diligence is manifest, there is no sign of struggle or laboriousness. He seemed from first to last a gifted favorite of fortune. He was taking prizes of many kinds all his days. He bore no scars, but was a dignified, affable, courtly, and scholarly presence in the Church and in the State. He was a liberal, broad in his

thinking and wide in his sympathies; no warrior, no martyr, but a courteous, hospitable, and winsome gentleman, acceptable to royalty, at homes, universities and cathedrals and palaces. From Rugby, at the age of fifteen, he writes of Dr. Arnold: "Whatever happens in the week to diminish my respect for him, it always comes back on Sunday when I hear him preaching." When Thomas Arnold preached before the university "the most cautious man in Oxford declared that the two ideas which the sight of Arnold always suggested were the ideas of truth and power." Of A. H. Clough, at Balliol, Stanley wrote: "The little I know of him has always made me think and maintain that he is the profoundest man of his years that I ever saw or that Rugby ever sent forth. His very misfortunes invest him with a kind of sacredness; for, academically speaking, who was ever so unfortunate—so able, so laborious, and yet so unaccountably failing?" This is what Dr. Arnold wrote in his private notebook at midnight, June 11, 1842, six hours before the fatal illness: "The day after to-morrow, if I am permitted to live so long, will be the birthday of my forty-seventh year. How large a portion of life is gone! In one sense, I may say already, 'Vixi.' I thank God that I believe all ambition has been mortified fully in my heart, and that I feel really now, not to advance from my present position into higher stations, but gently to withdraw from it into humbler occupations. I pray that God will make me more zealous and humble, more gentle and patient. I have much work left to do. . . . But I pray also that God will make me ready to let it be performed by others, if that be his will." One of the things Arnold prayed in his journal to be guarded against was the use of vehement language about persons and opinions. When Arnold was in the final agonies he said, fervently, "Thank God for me." "For what?" they said. "I feel that this pain is good for me." Then he said, "If you have no chastisement, then are ye bastards, and not sons." Then he told Mrs. Arnold to read the fifty-first psalm, and repeated after her the twelfth verse. Then she read the exhortation in the "Visitation for the Sick," and again at every sentence he said, "Yes! yes!" and again repeated, "Then are ye bastards, and not sons." Also he looked up and said, "Jesus said unto Thomas, Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." When he was gone Mrs. Arnold said: "What I chiefly think of is that he is free from the sight of sin. You know how that pained him above everything else, and now he will see it no more." The sight of what he thought wicked gave him absolute suffering. Once when Mrs. Arnold spoke of a certain little boy looking so innocent and good he answered: "O, my dear, it pains me to think how the devil will put his filthy paw upon him and mar it all." When Matthew Arnold saw his father's dead body his first thought was that their sole source of information was gone, that all they had ever known was contained in that head; they had consulted him so entirely on everything, and now they were cut off forever from his knowledge and wisdom. In 1846 Dr. Buckland, the new Dean of Westminster, speaks of the disgracefully filthy condition of Westmin-

ster School: "Counterpanes in the dormitory not washed for eleven years, schools not cleaned since Queen Elizabeth died." In Edinburgh Stanley heard Guthrie. "The extempore prayers I certainly dislike; the mouthing and repetition are very unpleasant. On the other hand, the evident devotion of the whole congregation, the psalms of the old barbarous Scotch version, sung aforetime by the Covenanters and by Cromwell's army, in which all the people joined, were very striking. Above all, I was pleased by a baptism which took place, in which the father stood up before the congregation and received an extempore address from the minister on the nature of the ceremony and the duties of Christian parents. . . . The sermon was highly figurative and imaginative, with a certain coarse imagination and a vehemence and variety of illustration which, even on a hot summer afternoon, kept my eyes open." Dr. Candlish is described as a "very shrewd, acute, narrow-minded man, who managed to unite a considerable range of general information and worldly sagacity with a set, fixed formula of Scotch Calvinistic theology and a dash of real enthusiasm against the principles of Establishment." In 1847 the Bishop of Norwich invited Jenny Lind to his palace as a tribute of respect to her character, and his son, A. P. Stanley, writes of her, it is very "rare to see anyone possessed with such a perfect consciousness that her gift is not her own, but given her by God. Hence the deep conviction of responsibility to use it for the good of others; hence the deep humility. Conceive a young girl having now for ten years lived in a whirlwind of applause, and yet apparently not in the least spoiled by it, always retiring to the lowest place, like a servant or a child. At the same time there were about her a dignity and resolution by which one could easily see at what an immeasurable distance all the evil would be kept which must otherwise be constantly in her way." On the death of Stanley's father, in 1849, Jowett writes: "I cannot sympathize in all the grounds of consolation sometimes offered on these melancholy occasions, but two things are unchangeable, first, that the dead are in the hands of God, who can do for them more than we can ask or think; and, second, with respect to ourselves, that such losses deepen our views of life and make us feel that we would not always be here." Stanley in his sorrow writes that now the speculations of books fade away, but "the words of the Bible are truly justified by their astonishing force at a time like this." Again Jowett writes: "My mind seems at times quite dried up—partly, I think, from being strained out of proportion to the physical powers. And at times I have felt an unsatisfied desire after a better and higher sort of life, which makes me impatient of the details of theology. It is from this source only that I can ever look for any 'times of refreshing.'" An old family servant tells of the last time she saw the Bishop of Norwich: "I somehow felt sure I should never see him again. It was not that he was aged. He was very cheerful, and when I stroked his hair (for it was so beautiful and white that I could not keep my hands off his head) and said, 'You are growing old,' he said, 'O yes, Ellen, we all grow older; but never mind that.' He went on to speak of angels in heaven beckoning those on

earth, and said, 'Whichever of us is taken first must beckon the others to come too?" Grote, the historian, says: "The tendency of the present age seems to me to run rather too strongly toward the *pictorial* in history, of which Macaulay is so remarkable a specimen. . . . I have a fear of running into poetical exuberance and of overstepping what is permitted to a faithful deposing witness and a sound expository philosopher." In the Sala Regia, just outside the Sistine Chapel in Rome, Stanley notices among the frescoes which celebrate the triumphs of the papacy the representation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew: "It is at the end opposite the Pauline Chapel in three compartments, one of which exhibits the murder of Coligny; the second, the slaughter generally; the third, the justification of it to the Parliament by Charles IX." Rome perpetuates in pride her most infamous atrocities. Pius IX is described as "an aged human being, living in this passing generation of the nineteenth century, but laden with the traditions and courtesies, the superstitions and falsehoods, of fifteen hundred years." In 1853 Stanley writes of an excursion from Smyrna to Ephesus: "It was romantic, and would have been comfortable but for fleas and mosquitoes. The first night I could not sleep a wink. But it was worth the misery of the night to have the refreshment of our morning bath by a primitive mode. We stood by the fountain, and the dragoman, taking water up in a large pitcher, poured it over us again and again, sweeping away fleas innumerable and cooling countless bites." In 1857 Stanley went to hear Spurgeon, and writes: "The congregation was magnificent—ten thousand—and although secular and unattractive before the service began, exceedingly devout and decorous as soon as Spurgeon appeared, joining in the hymn with great and general fervor. His exposition of a chapter in Isaiah I thought very meager, with a few coarse and irreverent expressions. The discourse was on 'Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?' divided into three parts. Firstly, the Life of Christ, as Example, Establishment, Expiation, not particularly good, but not offensive; a slight attempt to act the crucifixion was the only theatrical part. Secondly, application of it to us: 'Tell me why Christianity has failed to do its work in the world. Mohammed, the impostor in the streets of Mecca, in a few years collected disciples; at the end of a century a million scimiters flashed from their scabbards at command of the Caliphs. . . . You, my friend, in the gallery, have your business in town, a small farm in the country, a snug investment for old age, which you leave to your bailiffs; the world is your shop; your religion is that little farm. Not that I wish to see a man bring out his religion always. *I hate cant.* I hate to see a man bring out his tracts on his counter. A minister came to me the other day and said, "Brother, let us pray together." I said, "I like to do my praying alone. . . ." Some one says, "I have no talents." Brother, have you a child? That is your opportunity. Sister, have you a husband who illtreats you? He is your opportunity of usefulness.' These are his best points. He is not to be compared for real ability or effect to Evans; no pathos, a commonplace countenance, a very powerful but not unpleasing voice. Still, a useful, humorous, sagacious dis-

course." This is what Stanley writes of the alleged head of Cromwell: "An *embalmed* head like a mummy, with the marks of *two strokes of the ax* on the neck, and the ancient oak staff and iron spike running through its skull. The hair still remains, so that you see the mustache, beard, and *eyebrows meeting.* There is a mark of the mole on the right eyebrow. The nose is slightly turned to the left. The under jaw *is short, as was his.* A very awful apparition, and I myself believe it can be no one's but Cromwell's own." Whewell, the master of Trinity, Cambridge, was a man of encyclopedic knowledge. Sydney Smith said of him, "Science is his forte and omniscience is his foible." At the end of a social evening one of the company, a rough doctor, caught Whewell and abruptly asked him, "What is your opinion as to the best slope of the sails of a windmill?" When the man found that Whewell could not answer he said, with surprise, "O, I thought you had written a book about it. I thought you had written a book upon everything." Sir John Herschel in his old age read the "Iliad" again as he would a novel, straight through in a day and a half, and was impressed that "the one redeeming feature in the savage character of Achilles was his sense of justice." He also said, "I am convinced that if a sinner were shut up in paradise two days in the year he could not but be the better for it." In 1862 Stanley met M. Carvalho, President of the Jewish Consistory in Paris. "Though a Jew, he professed the greatest desire, not for conversion, but for reunion with Christendom. He said that the old feeling of the Jews against our Lord had entirely passed away, and that they regarded him as the greatest of their prophets, not, however, as *their* Messiah, but as the Messiah of the Gentiles. When asked whom the Jews expect as their Messiah he said there is much difference of opinion. Some think that civilization is the Messiah. When asked for the opinion of modern Jews as to the authorship of the Pentateuch, he replied that there were great differences as to date of composition, but unanimous belief that Moses wrote only a small portion of it. . . . He was a Portuguese Jew, and thirteen of his family had in former times been burnt by the Inquisition. He attributed the change of Jewish sentiment toward our Lord to the changed feeling and behavior of Christians toward the Jews, a change dating from the great French Revolution, when persecution of the Jews almost ceased." This Stanley writes of Aaron Burr, at Princeton College: "He was a boy of great abilities and firmness and powers of persuasion, but wonderfully ambitious and unprincipled. A revival took place in the college, and the head of the college talked to him seriously and apparently made a deep impression. Aaron Burr retired to his room, walked to and fro in great agitation, and then said, 'I have made my resolve: I will never think of religion again as long as I live.'" Stanley calls him "the acknowledged villain of American history." After Aaron Burr had killed Alexander Hamilton he escaped to France, and sent up his card to Talleyrand, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Talleyrand sent down the message: "The Minister of Foreign Affairs will be glad to see the Vice President of the United States, but M. Talleyrand begs to inform Mr. Aaron Burr that he has always the picture of Alexan-

der Hamilton hung in his room." Here is an American story which Stanley picked up: A colored child was missed from Sunday school. A teacher going to his house finds him sitting demurely on a stool in the middle of the room. His mother, being asked why he was not at school, answered: "He went to meeting and got religion, and I was afraid he would lose it again if he went out; so I kept him in the house ever since." Remarking on the fact that the absurd English pronunciation produced by wrongly omitting and inserting the letter "h" has never taken root in America, Stanley writes that this "shows what Old English may one day become in the purified air of its New English home." Jowett said that George Eliot "was one of the few persons eminent in literature whose conversation was equal or even superior to her writings." This volume will supplement Mr. Prothero's *Life and Letters of Dean Stanley*, and we suppose contains the last we are to have of the writings of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley.

Reflections and Comments. 1865–1895. By EDWIN LAWRENCE GODKIN. 12mo, pp. 328. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

The articles in this volume have appeared in the *Nation* during the last thirty years, and are reprinted almost in chronological order. The topics are mostly nonpolitical, and include such as these: "The Comparative Morality of Nations," "Mr. Froude as a Lecturer," "John Stuart Mill," "The Indian Philologician," "Professor Huxley's Lectures," "Tyndall and the Theologians," "The Church and Science," "The Church and Good Conduct," "Evidence about Character," "Carlyle's Political Influence," and "The Survival of Types." An essay on "Culture and War" ends with this entirely correct conclusion: "The lesson is that, whether you want him for war or peace, there is no way in which you can get so much out of a man as by training him, and training him not in pieces, but the whole of him; and that the trained men, other things being equal, are pretty sure in the long run to be the masters of the world." The author wants to know: "What is the impression produced on foreign opinion about American morality by the story of the Erie Railroad; by the career of 'Jim' Fisk; by the condition of the judicial bench in the commercial capital of the country; by charges of corruption brought against such men as Trumbull and Fessenden at the time of the impeachment trial; and by the comically prominent and beloved position which 'Ben' Butler held for some years in our best moral circles?" And he might have added, worse than any of these, by the election and reelection to highest office of men of confessedly vile and shameful record. Here is an opinion on one of the prophets of the English world: "The younger generation were a good deal stirred by Carlyle; but Carlyle, after all, only woke people up, and made them look out of the window to see what was the matter, after which most of them went to bed again and slept comfortably. His cries were rather too inarticulate to furnish anything like a new gospel, and he never took hold of the intellectual classes. But Mill did." Here is a hint for the clergy: "No theologian of high standing or character now permits himself to show bad temper in a doctrinal or herme-

neutical discussion, and a large and increasing proportion of theologians acknowledge that the road to heaven is so hard for us all that the less quarreling and jostling there is in it the better for everybody." Reference is made to Professor Huxley's lectures in America and to the public reply made to them by Dr. William Taylor, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, and this opinion is expressed: "The true course of spiritually minded men is to separate their faith from all theories of the precise manner in which the world originated, or of the length of time it has lasted, as matters, for their purposes, of little or no moment. The secret springs of hope and courage from which each of us draws strength in the great crises of existence would flow all the same whether life appeared on the planet ten million or ten thousand years ago, and whether the present forms of life were the product of one day or of many ages. And we doubt very much whether anyone has ever listened in a candid and dispassionate frame of mind to the evolutionist's history of the globe without finding that it had deepened for him the mystery of the universe, and magnified the Power which stands behind it." Fair-mindedness and the ability to see more than one side are indicated in the following adverse criticism: "There is some risk that lectures like Professor Huxley's at Belfast, dressed up for promiscuous crowds, and produced with the polite scorn of infallibility, in which the destruction of moral responsibility is broadly hinted at as one of the probable results of researches in biology, will do great mischief. For what does it matter, or rather ought it to matter, for social purposes, in what part of a man's system his conscience lies, or whether pressure on a particular portion of the brain may convert him into a thief, when we know, as of experience, that the establishment of good courts and police turns a robbers' den into a hive of honest industry, and when we see the wonders which discipline works in an ignorant crowd?" And we add, when we witness the power of the Holy Spirit to convict and regenerate the chief of sinners and turn him from the error of his ways to walk in newness of life, following the commandments of God. The truth of the following statement is manifest to all evangelicals: "The effort of Unitarians and others to make Christ's influence and authority rest on his moral teachings and example, without the support of a divine nature, or mission, or sacrifice, has failed. The Christian Church cannot be held together as a great social force by his teaching or example as a moral philosopher. A church organized on this theory speedily becomes a lecture association or a philanthropic club, of about as much aid to conduct as Freemasonry. Christ's sermons need the touch of supernatural authority to make them impressive enough for the work of social regeneration, and his life was too uneventful and the society in which he lived too simple, to give his example real power over the imagination of a modern man who regards him simply as a social reformer." The author fears there is danger lest the Church become chiefly, if not merely, "a stimulater and gratifier of certain tender emotions," and thinks "it contains a large body of persons whose religious life consists simply of a succession of sensations not far removed from one's enjoyment of music and poetry; and another

large body to whom it furnishes refuge and consolation of a vague and ill-defined sort in times of sorrow and disappointment." He says: "This sentimental religion in many cases deceives a man as to his own moral condition, and hides from him the true character and direction of the road he is traveling, and furnishes his conscience with a false bottom." And he adds: "The Church must be an organization held together by some stronger ties than enjoyment of weekly music and oratory in a pretty building, and almsgiving which entails no sacrifice and is often only a tickler of social vanity." "If Christians are to be regarded as living on a higher plane than the rest of the world they must furnish stronger evidence in the shape of plain and open self-denial." The passion for equality is so strong in this country that the workingman "will not seek salvation *in forma pauperis*, and he thinks the best talent in the ministerial market not a whit too good for him. He not unnaturally doubts the sincerity of Christians who are not willing to kneel beside badly dressed persons in prayer on the one day of the week when prayer is public. In fact, to fit the Protestant Church to lay hold of the laboring population a great process of reconstruction would be necessary." The weight of that admonition falls less heavily on Methodism than on some other communions. This "expatriated Anglo-Irishman," as Matthew Arnold called him, traveling in the South, observes a striking superiority of manners in all classes. "One rarely meets a man on a Virginia road who does not raise or touch his hat, and this not in a servile way either, but simply as politeness. The bearing of the men toward each other generally, too, has the ineffable charm, which Northern manners are so apt to want, of indicating that, even if you are no better than any other man, you are different, and that your peculiarities are respectable, and that you are entitled to a certain amount of deference for your private tastes and habits. At the North, on the other hand, manners, even as taught to children, are apt to concede nothing except that you, perhaps, have an immortal soul and a middling chance for salvation, and to avoid anything which is likely to lead you to forget that you are simply an ordinary human male." Here is a newspaper man's guess at the most exhausting part of a minister's work: "What probably tires a minister most is not the sermons, but his parishioners; and we suspect that nine tenths of the ministers, if they made a clean breast of it, would confess that rest to them means getting away from their parishioners rather than from their sermons. . . . What probably wears most on a clergyman's nerves are his pastoral duties, which do not consist solely in consoling people in great trials, but in listening to their fussy accounts of small ones. Nine tenths of a minister's patients, like a doctor's, do not know what is the matter with them, and consult a physician largely because they take comfort in talking to anybody about themselves, and doctors and clergymen are the only persons who are bound to listen to them." He thinks a summer school of theology or of philosophy, or anything else of the kind, must afford for such men repose of the best sort, giving light work of the kind they love, free from all nagging, and in good air and fine scenery. In the essay entitled "Chromo-Civilization"

Mr. Godkin expresses his opinion that Henry Ward Beecher's preaching did not have a strongly purifying and organizing effect, and thinks this was due to the absence from it of anything in the smallest degree disciplinary, either in the shape of systematic theology, with its tests and standards, or of a social code, with its pains and penalties; that what he most encouraged was vague aspiration and lachrymose sensibility, and that he did not brace and fortify morals nor impart and foster the ability to dare and do. The intimation is that he was a promoter of pictured religion and a chromo-civilization. It is certain that similar impressions of the quality of Mr. Beecher's ministry prevailed in many minds during his lifetime. It was confidently asserted that his church had no solidity, no firm character of its own, and that it would crumble away so soon as his magnetic and gifted personality should be withdrawn. Mr. Beecher came to Plymouth Church in 1847, and died in March, 1887. Dr. Lyman Abbott was called to the vacant pastorate in May, 1888. Shortly after he was invited one of the most experienced and sagacious ministers of Brooklyn remarked, on seeing Dr. Abbott pass by in a hall: "There goes the administrator of Beecher's estate; he has been appointed to close out the business." It is only fair to say that these anticipations have not been realized. Plymouth Church, so far from disappearing or disintegrating, stood unshaken, evidently having root in itself, and still flourishes with seventeen hundred members in wide-branched activities, showing vital force, spiritual resolution, and practical energy. There must have been more foundationing and edifying power in Mr. Beecher's ministry than Mr. Godkin imagined; and, totally different in temperament and many other ways as Dr. Abbott is, eight years of prosperous work prove him a successful successor.

Little Leaders. By WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE. 12mo, pp. 278. Chicago: Way & Williams. Price, buckram cloth, $1.50.

The title of this book is due to the fact that it is made up of thirty articles which did duty as editorials in *The Dial.* They are studies and criticisms in literature, education, and biography. The author modestly says that they "make no pretense of doing more than touch the skirts and fringes of their great subjects." Some of the subjects are as follows: "The Ibsen Legend," "The Cult in Literature," "The Literary West," "The Critic and His Task," "Anonymity in Literary Criticism," "The Approach to Literature," "Democracy and Education," "The Teaching of Education," "The Use and Abuse of Dialect," "Reading and Education," "The Summer School," "Alfred Tennyson," "Ernest Renan," "John Addington Symonds," "John Tyndall," "Thomas Henry Huxley," "Oliver Wendell Holmes." From Renan this rhapsody is quoted: "Heroes of the unselfish life, saints, apostles, recluses, cenobites, ascetics of all ages, sublime poets and philosophers, whose delight was in having no heritage here below; sages who went through life with the left eye fixed upon earth and the right eye upon heaven; and thou above all, divine Spinoza, who chosest to remain poor and forgotten, the better to serve thy thought and adore the Infinite, how much better you understood life

than those who take it to be a narrow problem in self-interests, the meaningless struggle of ambition and of vanity! It had doubtless been better to make your God less of an abstraction, not set upon heights so dim that to contemplate him strained the vision. God is not alone in the sky, he is near each one of us; he is in the flower pressed by your feet, in the balmy air, in the life that hums and murmurs all about, most of all in your hearts. Yet in your sublime exaltation how much more clearly do I discern the supersensual needs and instincts of humanity than in those colorless beings upon whom the ray of the ideal never flashed, and whose lives from their first day to their last were unfolded, precise, and trim, like the leaves of a book of accounts." This is from the author's essay on J. A. Symonds. Professor Tyrrell, in a satirical sketch of the modern methods of classical study, says: "To study the works, for instance, of the Greek dramatists is no longer a road to success as a scholar or as a student. No, you must be ready to liken Æschylus to an Alpine *crevasse*, Sophocles to a fair avenue of elms, and Euripides to an amber-weeping Phæthontid, or a town pump in need of repairing." This is clearly a reference to such books as Symonds's *Studies of the Greek Poets*, and yet that book has done more to rouse an enthusiasm for Greek poetry and foster a desire for its acquaintance than all the unromantic tomes of the grammarians." This from the essay on Huxley: "Huxley represented English science in the sense that he gave a large part of his life to the subject of comparative anatomy, and made some fairly important contributions to our knowledge of that subject. But this work was not comparable to that, in their respective subjects, of such men as Faraday or Lyell or Maxwell, to say nothing of Darwin. It was good work, without doubt, but it was equaled by a score of Englishmen of his own generation, and surpassed by a respectable number." But the author says Huxley's "tombstone should bear the inscription, *Veritatem dilexi*, that Renan asked to be cut upon his own."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Empire of the Ptolemies. By J. P. Mahaffy, Fellow, etc., of Trinity College, Dublin; Hon. Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; Knight of the Order of the Redeemer; Author of *The Greek World Under Roman Sway*, etc. 8vo, pp. 533. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $3.50.

The histories of Egypt with which we are most familiar expend all their strength before reaching the Greek period. They give us to understand that the undoubtedly brilliant civilization of the Greek period was not native, but foreign, and that, therefore, histories of Egypt have really nothing to do with it. This is, of course, a half-truth. The civilization of the Græco-Roman period in Egypt was a growth from foreign seeds—but, for that matter, so also was the civilization of the ancient empire. No one doubts to-day that the ancient civilization of Egypt was frequently supplemented from the outside, and few there be who would dare to doubt that the civilization of ancient Egypt was not African, but Asiatic. If, therefore, the history of the ancient empire, with its glorious civiliza-

tion, deserves study as a history of Egypt, it follows without doubt that the history of the Græco-Roman period is also properly a history of Egypt. It is well that the writing of this history should have been done, not by a secondhand workman, however skillful, but by one of the two or three most eminent specialists in this department in the world. Professor Mahaffy is one of the most distinguished ornaments of the university system of Ireland. He has made great contributions to human knowledge by his decipherments of late Egyptian papyri. He has shown himself, in other books, to possess, not merely the skill of a decipherer, but the art of an historian. He has the power to decipher difficult documents; he has also the power of combining the results and of weaving them into interesting historical tapestries. There was great need of a new book on the Ptolemies; as Professor Mahaffy himself says, "they have been greatly neglected." We may let him state the need in his own words: "That this epoch has hitherto been neglected is not strange. In spite of the great splendor and importance of the Ptolemies in the Hellenistic world, no systematic account of them had survived, even in Pausanias's day. We know them through pompous hieroglyphics, which were not intended to instruct us; through panegyrics, which were perhaps intended to mislead us; through episodes in the universal histories of Polybius and Diodorus. Recently we have added to these literary authorities a good many stray inscriptions and a mass of papyrus fragments which give us multitudinous isolated facts, seldom of public interest, but no connected history. The only writer who has attempted to treat this period in connection with the preceding epochs was Sharpe, in whose book the Ptolemies have obtained a lion's share. But how antiquated it seems to us now, and how many of his statements are contradicted by recent discoveries! A like fate will inevitably attend his successors. Even now no history of the Ptolemies can claim or desire to be final. Ptolemaic inscriptions, Ptolemaic papyri, are finding their way into our museums every year. Whenever demotic Egyptian comes to be understood so that its matter becomes accessible to ordinary scholars a flood of net light may be thrown upon the subject. Yet if the vast body of isolated facts be not gathered periodically and set in order it will be impossible to fit further discoveries into their places, and we shall find ourselves in presence of a confused mass of evidence which few will attempt to comprehend. Even now the task of knowing the extant Ptolemaic papyri is arduous enough; were it not for exceptional privileges enjoyed in deciphering and explaining them the undertaking would have been beyond my ambition. Those who know this vast and partly explored field best will be the readiest to make allowance for my shortcomings." The book extends from the reign of Alexander the Great to Cleopatra the Sixth. It is admirably well done. For the theologian it is important, because it covers the period when the Septuagint translation was made; for the student of modern politics it is invaluable as showing the assimilative power of the Egyptian people at a critical period of their history. We doubt if any man living was as competent, on the whole, to do this work as Professor

Mahaffy. In handling the papyri Professor Willcken, of Breslau, has in some respects done better work. In breadth of view and in knowledge of the ancient history Professor Sayce is superior, and in acquaintance with the mass of lesser documents on papyri Dr. Spiegelberger, of Strasburg, is perhaps somewhat better equipped; but, all things in all, a master has done the work, and we cannot but be grateful that it did not fall into weak hands.

Joan of Arc. By FRANCIS C. LOWELL. 8vo, pp. 382. Boston, New York, and Chicago: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

An important chapter in French and English history, and in religious history as well, is here worthily recorded. If the year of her birth as usually given, 1412, be correct, Joan of Arc was but little more than nineteen when she was burned at the stake. Yet, in spite of her youth and her ignorance of theology, she may be regarded as in some respects a forerunner of the Reformation. Mr. Lowell indeed says: "In her religious belief Joan was a devout Catholic of the fifteenth century, holding heartily and without question all the doctrines of the Church. From the least taint of Protestantism in any form, of the doctrines of Huss or Wyclif, she was absolutely free; indeed, she seems to have regarded the Hussites with most orthodox abhorrence. The supreme authority of the Church she doubted no more than she doubted the heavenly nature of her visitors." But Joan was no theologian. Her knowledge of "all the doctrines of the Church," no less than of "the doctrines of Huss and Wyclif," may well be questioned. And the author, in comparing her with Catherine of Sienna, himself says (p. 371): "Catherine was willing to be damned to save others. Joan could not have understood the idea." It was not on questions of theology so much as on matters connected with the civil administration of affairs that she came into conflict with the authorities of the Church. And many of her answers during her trial hardly comport with a blind acceptance of the Church as the "supreme authority." As specimens of these answers we quote from pages 305, 306: "'In case the Church shall wish to make me do anything contrary to the commandment God has given me I will not do it on any account.' . . . Whatever she had declared in the trial that she had done by his commandment she could not deny. In case the Church militant should command her to deny it she would not allow any man in the world, but only our Lord, to forbid her to do his good commands. Did she not think that she was subject to the Church on earth, that is to say, the pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates? insisted Cauchon, wishing to clinch the matter. 'Yes, our Lord being first served,' said Joan." Says James Freeman Clarke, in his valuable *Events and Epochs in Religious History:* "Jeanne d'Arc was thus in the same position before this tribunal that Luther was before the Diet of Worms. Her language and his were identical, except that he spoke of the word of God in Scripture, where she spoke of the voice of God in her soul. Both wished to obey the Church; neither wished to be heretic or schismatic; but to both there was something higher than the Church." On this point we are more

inclined to agree with Clarke than with our present author, without believing that Joan had any deliberate intention of posing as a heretic, or any adequate idea in what heresy consisted. Concerning the "voices" Mr. Lowell says: "Joan had subjective sensations of sight and sound, perhaps of other senses, without external cause sufficient to produce like sensations in others. Precisely what these sensations were we do not know." And in another place: "Two things only are certain: first, that she was sincere, both then and afterward; and, second, that no trick was played upon her by others. It appears, moreover, that in all other respects she was quite healthy, both in body and in mind. Further than this history cannot go, and the choice between insanity and inspiration must be made by another science." There has been no more picturesque figure in human history than Joan of Arc. Her brief career is a unique and romantic episode in the midst of the barbarous cruelties and treacheries of the Middle Ages; her character, one of the purest, sincerest, most disinterested and unselfish in any age. A simple peasant girl, without education—unable to even read or write—she was called to stand before kings and princes, to take a conspicuous part in the great events of her time. Unabashed in any presence; with a faith unwavering that enabled her to accomplish the chief ends of her marvelous mission; with a quiet dignity, a persuasive earnestness, a healthy, saving common sense, a perception of the adaptation of means to compel results, a vigor and directness of thought and speech that won respect and attention such as enthusiast never enjoyed before—she was yet exalted by no prosperity, dismayed by no calamity, and retained the unaffected charm of her early girlhood, longing even at the last, her mission over, that they would let her go back again to her sheep in Domremy. Mr. Lowell's book is a calm, dispassionate, and yet of necessity an appreciative narrative of the main events of Joan's life. He constantly refers to that unimpeachable source of information—the full official record of her trial and condemnation. Altogether he has produced a biography of great interest and value of one who, in a larger sense than Napoleon can ever be, is the national hero of the people of France.

The Life of John Livingston Nevius, for Forty Years a Missionary in China. With Illustrations from original photographs, and a map of Eastern Shantung. By his Wife, HELEN S. COAN NEVIUS. Introduction by W. A. P. MARTIN, D.D., LL.D., President Imperial Tungwen College, Peking. 8vo, pp. 476. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $2.

The need that workers in the foreign mission fields of the Church shall be men of the highest quality is impressed anew upon the reader of this valuable biography. In their intellectual acumen, their intrenchment in ancestral faiths, and their natural hostility to the invasion of the strange religious teacher from the West, the heathen of the Orient are to be won to the Gospel by the best Christian teachers, and only by the best. Judged, however, by the exacting standards of missionary qualification which the Church may rightly lay down, the subject of this memoir will not be found wanting. Of his fitness for pioneer missionary work in China,

Martin in his "Introduction" writes as follows: "A strong body, a vigorous and well-trained intellect, a sound judgment, and a firm will — these were the corner stones of a character which, abounding in natural magnetism and penetrated by the grace of God, was marked out for usefulness of no ordinary type. His inborn dignity compelled respect from the highest; his kindly sympathies were such that the lowliest might approach him with confidence. Serious, but not morose; at times mirthful, but never frivolous, he was the most genial of companions. His society was sought by the worldly, though most appreciated by those who could enter the sanctuary of his religious affections. In a word, he was a man whom human wisdom might have selected out of thousands; and have we not the amplest evidence that a Higher Wisdom chose and trained him for his special work?" Such words as these do not seem over-eulogistic as one reads the life story of Dr. Nevius. With large detail and much charm of construction his faithful wife has put before us his early life, his sterling Christian experience, his missionary call, his gift of forty years of service to the redemption of China, and his sudden translation in the midst of his toil. Incidentally there is much in the volume which throws light upon Chinese life and customs. Yet Dr. Nevius, through it all, is the central figure of the story. As a missionary teacher who has helped to lay the foundations of the Church in China, and has turned many to righteousness, he will be sorely missed. As a lover of nature, a keen student of humanity, an able linguist, and a writer who has enriched the missionary literature of China, he will be remembered tenderly and long. Not least of all his literary works is his volume on *Demon Possession and Allied Themes*, but recently reviewed in these pages, wherein he shows the resemblance between the demoniacism of the New Testament and that of China, and claims that in the latter case as well the devils may be driven out by Christian exercises. After a long workday in his loved mission field he has laid down to rest outside the city of Chefoo, until the great day of the Lord. His life story will be welcomed by all Christian workers as a faithful contribution to the history of missionary work in China, and as a loving portrayal of a great soul which has now risen to its native skies.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Making of Manhood. By W. J. Dawson. 12mo, pp. 269. New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

London Idylls. 12mo, pp. 345. Same author and publishers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Mr. Dawson is remembered here as a delegate from British Wesleyanism to the Ecumenical Methodist Conference in Washington in 1890, as also by sermons and lectures delivered by him during that visit and by his previous books, *Quest and Vision* and *The Church of To-morrow*, both published by our Book Concern. Sermons, essays, and poems come copiously from his pen, yet are not crude or careless or common; they all

have a certain exquisite and delicious quality which entitles them to a place in literature. They come from the soul of a poet, an artist, a prophet. *The Making of Manhood* is unlike and yet reminds one of Munger's *On the Threshold*. It has fourteen chapters on "The Duty of Right Thinking," "The Power of the Ideal," "The Power of Purpose," "The Madness of Youth," "Courage," "The Gains of Drudgery," "Money," "Gambling," "The Empty Mind," "Patriotism," "Leisure and Holidays," "The Ministry of Books," "The Price of Perfection," "A Young Man's Religion." The *London Idylls* number ten, the first being entitled "Jim and His Soul: a Street Idyll," and the last, "Sister Lydia." The "Proem" begins thus: "These be tales of a city like unto no other that is found upon the earth." "This city never rests. It is the heart from which the whole earth is fed. It is the ganglion in which the fibers of a world are knotted up." "This city shares with seas and open skies a certain spaciousness which is symbolic of infinity. Gradually, since that far-off hour of boyhood, when first her magnificent disarray touched the soul with wonder, the enchantment of this city has drawn me closer, until at last the heart-beat of London has grown motherly to me."

Dixie; or, Southern Scenes and Sketches. By JULIAN RALPH. 8vo, pp. 412. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2 50.

This is one of the latest of the long list of books of travel and description published by the Harpers. Julian Ralph, having previously given us *Canada* and *Chicago*, and *The World's Fair* and *Our Great West*, now gives us this attractive volume. It is one of those books which carries the reader along, so that he finds it as easy as a hammock and as breezy as a bicycle. It is so copiously illustrated that the index to the illustrations fills four pages. The author's "Greeting" is: "To that happy society of men and women whose innermost souls have been bared to me all over the world; whose lodges are hospitable homes, whose passwords are terms of buoyant friendship, whose grips are of the tendrils of kindly hearts, and whose aim is to enjoy and to make joyous the fellowship of their comrades, this book of Southern notes is admiringly dedicated."

The Days of Auld Lang Syne. By IAN MACLAREN. 12mo, pp. 366. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. Price, cloth, $1 25.

The reading public which devoured this author's previous book, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, at once cried aloud for more; and here they have it in this new volume, sure to be eagerly purchased and hungrily read. Some of the characters of the first book reappear here, and the scenes also are in old Drumtochty. The titles of this new package of stories are: *A Triumph in Diplomacy; For Conscience' Sake; A Manifest Judgment; Drumsheugh's Love Story; Past Redemption; Good News from a Far Country; Jamie; A Servant Lass; Milton's Conversion; Oor Lang Hame.* Few volumes of sermons ever did so much good to the hearts of men as did the noble pathos and irresistible power of those Scottish stories in the *Bonnie Brier Bush;* and here we have a fresh installment, made of the same stuff, cut from the same piece of goods.

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